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**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1836**



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24 December 1980

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## 'UNCULTURED, FOREIGN MANIFESTATIONS' DEPLORED

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 23 Sep 80 p 3

[Article "Let Us Know and Implement Our Laws" by Iliriana Mezini: "Healthy Opinion Stifles Foreign Manifestations and Activities"]

[Text] Disgraceful behavior in society is a manifestation of the class struggle. It has its roots in the remnants of the old society, in the continual pressure of bourgeois-revisionist ideology and especially in persons who become the bearers of bourgeois morality and who, because of their behavior and attitudes, commit anti-moral and anti-social acts, thus, striking at the legal norms and rules of behavior in society.

This category of crimes is not a characteristic of our socialist society. Also, because of some special qualities and fine traditions of our people, the crime of disgraceful behavior in society is not widespread in our country. A comprehensive political and ideological struggle is carried out in our country against foreign manifestations of bourgeois morality expressed here and there in certain in our society; this struggle has reduced more and more the sources and causes of the rise in crime, in general, and crimes of disgraceful behavior in particular. Our penal legislation is also playing an important role in this field.

Crimes of disgraceful behavior in society harm the rules of coexistence in the socialist society. The person who executes [this kind of] crime does not seek to achieve a determined criminal purpose. In this criminal act, this person is moved not by motives incorrectly conceived, but by the desire to "please himself" and to show off before others, thus, showing his "skill" and "force" and so forth. The Penal Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in its Article No 129, stipulates that "disgraceful behavior in society, because of motives of delinquency that noticeably affect the rules of socialist coexistence, are punishable by re-education through work or by deprivation of liberty up to a period of 5 years."

When do we deal with disgraceful behavior in society? Let us give one case for an example: two young workers--F.D., a cook in Zall-Daj, and L.B., a worker in the housing enterprise--went drinking one day and had more drinks than they should have had. Walking and pushing each other after this behavior, they decided to have their picture taken. Their failure to keep their equilibrium while walking in the street drew the attention of passers-by. Openly disregarding the other



people, they used indecent words and even teased the girls who passed by. As a result of having drunk too much, they were driven to committing acts completely in contradiction with the rules of socialist coexistence and the norms of our communist morality.

The behavior of some youths at the stadium during sport competitions also is a negative aspect. Of course, those to whom we refer, are elements with accentuated remnants in their awareness. Having no consideration for the masses of society, they manifest indecent manners through repeated shouts in unison saying indecent and offensive words--an aspect which is not a characteristic of the large sports-loving masses of our country. These acts committed by some youths are in flagrant contradiction with the norms and rules of socialist coexistence. It is even worse when these acts, which are provoked at the stadium, are continued in the street after the conclusion of sport events, where discussions become more noisy accompanied by shouts and offensive words. Because of this open disregard for society, these youths take legal responsibility upon themselves, as they cause disturbances and disturb the tranquility of the public in the stadium or of families and others in the streets.

All these acts mentioned above and some other behavior added to them, such as, for example, answering a citizen in a taunting manner constitute the crime of indecent behavior in society. Their act is condemnable by the law, because it hurts our socialist morality.

To eliminate manifestations of disgraceful behavior in society, which also constitutes a crime, it is necessary to create a repressive atmosphere for all these acts which we encounter in our work and society. The education of the new man in the communist morality is the task of the working collective, society and of every citizen. We must not remain indifferent when we observe that manifestations of disgraceful behavior are occurring in our society; on the contrary, we must intervene immediately and must prevent our comrade from sinking into his mistake; we must make it clear to him that these acts lead to a misleading path. After this, it is necessary that the foreign acts and manifestations of some member of the collective be discussed in the collective so that the behavior and action of one person will become a lesson for another person and so they will not be repeated anymore in life.

9150

CSO: 2100

## BETTER UTILIZATION OF ENERGY RESOURCES NEEDED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Petro Dode, chairman of the State Planning Commission: "More Effective Studies and Measures for Increasing and Rationally Utilizing Energy Resources"]

[Text] The party, in its policy for the socialist industrialization of the country, has continually given special attention and concern to the most rapid development of heavy industry, considering it as the only way which has guaranteed the introduction of natural resources and other raw materials of the country in economic circulation and in rational and effective utilization. In this regard, based on Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings that "without energy there is no progress and there is no development of the production forces," a number of measures have been taken and executed in our country; these measures have gradually developed, but always with priority, the energy industry which has become a powerful factor for the creation of a complete and multibranch economy, as independent as possible, relying on its own forces. Our country has always provided an active balance-sheet of energy resources, satisfying the increasing needs of all branches of the economy and even exporting a part of its energy products.

This correct policy pursued by the party in the field of energy resources and its vitality appear even more, especially now, when the entire capitalist and revisionist world, including the largest countries, is taken over by the economic crisis in general and the energy crisis in particular. Our socialist economy, which has created a powerful energy base, has not known and does not know reductions of production and other negative phenomena of the cyclic and spontaneous development that characterize the very nature of the economy of the bourgeois and revisionist countries.

Our party has consistently followed the path of the creation, development and invigoration of the energy industry, as a component part of its program for the socialist industrialization of the country, as a factor of a special importance that guarantees the consolidation and further promotes the independent political and economic development of the country, both successfully unmasking and destroying the hostile activity of the deviationists within its ranks and the modern revisionists.

As it was stressed at the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, the creation and development of the key branches, such as the petroleum industry, the

gas industry, the energy industry and other important branches of the economy, have had and will always have a vital importance for the building of socialism with our own forces and for strengthening the independence of the country. In drafting the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1981-1985), we took into consideration and are studying the possibilities for further increasing investments in the petroleum industry and further improving the effectiveness of these investments, aiming at also guaranteeing in the future the increase of reserves and the extraction of petroleum and gas. In this regard, it is necessary to study and better solve, in a complex manner, the problems of a material-technical and economic-financial character. In this branch of industry, the aim will always be, by strengthening technical and scientific discipline in work, to achieve, first of all, the most rational utilization possible of the technical-material base so as to assure the increase of the drilling-research and drilling-utilization rates in order to discover as many new oil and gas fields as possible and in order to speed up their exploitation. The tasks assigned in this direction are linked with the perfection of organization and management, with the continual strengthening of proletarian and scientific discipline in work so as to eliminate those technical and organizational shortcomings which, in some cases, have led to breakdowns.

The party has worked and is continually working to develop the coal mining industry along with the petroleum industry. Today, coal mining holds an important position in the balance-sheet of fuel in our country. In 1970, compared to 1960, coal mining increased by more than two times; while, in 1980, it increased by over five times. We have fought and rejected the views that underestimated the economic value of this branch and important measures have continually been taken and implemented in order to increase the mining of coal and to promote its use to the greatest extent possible, including coal of low calorific power. The various sectors of the economy will have greater use of coal during the five-year plan. Therefore, work is being aimed at solving the important problems leading to the increase of production by every mine and the improvement of the quality of coal, where there are still problems requiring a solution, such as: the reduction of losses in coal strata and impoverishment during coal extraction and the further improvement of the level of mechanization in mines and so forth.

The problems concerning the use of coal are being attentively examined. Studies have been completed on the possibility of converting boilers using liquid fuel into boilers using coal and, at the same time, efforts are being made to implement this conversion. Also, better efforts will be made to intensify the use of coal in families in order to save firewood that is a scarce material for the economy. Of particular importance in the more rational utilization of coal is the study which is being carried out for the centralization of production and of the distribution of steam to the city industrial zones, with the prospect of extending the heating system for communal needs in heated greenhouses for the production of vegetables and so forth.

The implementation of these studies in the years of the coming five-year plan will bring to the economy important savings in raw energy liquid fuel, coal and firewood and so forth. But, at the same time, tasks arise from these studies in regard to adopting all the technical and organizational measures, both by the grassroots organizations and central departments, so as to implement them on the



shortest deadlines possible and with the smallest investments possible. In this regard, it is necessary to stress that studies in the field of the thermal power sector need to be further expanded in order to elevate them, as the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee recommended, to a higher scientific level, so that the most energy possible is taken from coal and other fuel materials for the thermal equipment, in order that the adjustment or production of new boilers will be carried out in full harmony with our kinds of coal and according to a studied regional system for this distribution.

The utilization of hydroenergy resources has been and will be in the future, too, one of the most important directions for increasing energy resources and, in general, improving the effectiveness of this branch of industry. The overall production of electric power in 1979, compared to 1960, increased by 15.3 times; while, the overall production of electric power supplied by the hydroelectric power stations increased by 20.4 times. But, in addition to this, our country still has many unexploited important water resources which constitute very great reserves for increasing, at rapid rates, the production of electric power. However, in this field, too, a number of tasks are set forth, especially for the intensification of complex studies in order to determine the complete blueprints for the utilization of rivers and of their affluents in a complex manner, utilizing them not only for the hydroelectric power stations, but also for satisfying the needs of the other sectors of the economy, such as, for irrigation, communal utilities and for the new industrial centers and so forth. For this, it is necessary to provide a better cooperation between our study and design institutions and the responsible departments and Tirana State University, by harmonizing prognoses and long range studies with the study and design of the projects expected to be built during the coming five-year plan. In this framework, it is necessary that the studies produce a number of technical and economic indicators which will serve to determine the order of construction of the hydroelectric power stations.

The party has always linked the priority development of the power industry with the necessity of applying a strong system of savings to the use of its products. In the present conditions of the dynamic development of our country, when the needs for energy resources are in increasing demands in all sectors of the economy and when the energy crisis has strongly taken over the capitalist and revisionist world, it is necessary that we implement, without any negligence, the important tasks assigned by the Seventh Party Congress in the field of savings, and of the economical use, of raw materials, especially of petroleum and of its by-products, gas, and coal and electric power.

In the execution of all the measures which will guarantee the further strengthening of the system of savings in the products of the power industry, we must always guide ourselves by the recommendations of Comrade Enver Hoxha that "...the country which produces much is not always a rich country; on the contrary, it is the country which produces as much as it is necessary to produce and which uses the good material things, that it produces, sparingly and with strict calculation."

Working in this direction, the greatest attention and concern has been concentrated on saving petroleum and its by-products. Our efforts aim at extending and applying, as widely as possible, the advanced experience that we find in individuals and in the user enterprises, while combatting every manifestation of routine and

of liberalism which still exist in the work of some state and economic organs. The results achieved in saving liquid fuel and motor fuel last year and during the current year tell about the great reserves that our economy possesses.

A very important direction to save liquid fuel is the persistent execution of the program approved by the Council of Ministers on the replacement of liquid fuel with solid fuel or gas and the use of all kinds of wastes which can be used for burning. Greater efforts will be made in the transport sector, the machine tractor stations [SMT] and in other sectors in order to base the use of combustibles on the best experience obtained, because, at present, there are noticeable differences in regard to the realization of norms between the individuals, work brigades and enterprises; and these differences constitute important reserves to economize petroleum, gasoline and so forth. Other measures for saving combustibles in the transport sector are: the use, to a greater extent, of trailers, cableways, carts and oxcarts for domestic transportation and, in the future, the replacement of vehicles' gasoline engines with naphtha engines.

Great savings reserves also exist in the utilization of coal. The increase of the coefficient of the utilization of calorific power of coal in a profitable manner by the users by only 10 percent, during the coming five-year plan, would bring to the economy a saving of 150,000 to 200,000 tons of coal per year. There are cases in our enterprises showing that not burning coal results in considerable savings. Thus, for example, from 8-10 percent that is the calculated norm allowed, the quantity of burned coal in the Durres bread factories, the paper plant in Kavaje, the beer and brick plants in Korce and so forth amounts to 25-50 percent and so forth. Such losses of coal exist almost everywhere, where the burning is carried out in hollows, therefore, the return to the system with pulverization devices is an urgent task.

There are also reserves everywhere in the economy to save electric power. Although efforts have been carried out in this field, there is room for further reduction of norms for the utilization of electric power per production unit, construction unit and service unit. Attention must be concentrated, especially, on the large users of electric power, such as the chemical, metallurgical and petroleum plants and so forth. In these sectors, power is saved especially when the plants are worked at full capacity.

To draft and execute the most scientific norms for the use of combustible materials in general, it is necessary to place their measurements on healthy bases. There are many gaps and shortcomings in this field both in regard to the setting, checking and precision of apparatuses and in regard to their repair. Of course, in order that all these economy measures are properly carried out, it is also necessary to have a better trained personnel to manage the equipment that use energy resources as a whole.

The totality of problems linked with the most rational utilization of fuel and combustibles is the object of expanded discussions and examinations on the part of all working collectives so as to further promote the technical and scientific revolution in these fields. Everywhere, as the party tells us, the people must take the most mobilizing tasks upon themselves in regard to saving power products;

no one must have the idea that we swim on petroleum and that we walk on coal; on the contrary, we must deeply instill in everyone the sense of saving every drop of petroleum, every handful of coal.

Understanding more and more thoroughly the tasks set forth by the party and Comrade Enver for the future development of the economy, based on the principle of relying on one's own forces, the working collectives will further struggle, will find new roads and will discover important reserves both to increase the products of the energy industry at higher rates and to utilize them most rationally and sparingly.

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CSO: 2100

## WORKERS PENSION RIGHTS DISCUSSED

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Nesim Canko: "Let Us Know and Implement Our Laws": "On Workers Pension Rights"]

[Text] The basic principles of the New Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the field of relationships in socialist work have found a complete and clear expression in the New Labor Code. One of the main principles expressed in the Code is the providing of material means for the livelihood of workers when they are unable to work and when they are old.

A single, advanced and complete system of pensions for workers, white-collar employees and agricultural cooperative members has been established in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This is a great victory achieved by our people under the leadership of the Albanian Workers Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

An important principle of the system of pensions is the fact that expenditures for the payment of pensions are covered by the contributions provided by the enterprises, institutions, organizations and agricultural cooperatives and by the state budget. Therefore, workers make no payment at all from their personal incomes for their insurance. Also, a failure by enterprises or agricultural cooperatives to pay their contribution does not prevent workers from getting their pension rights guaranteed by law.

Workers or white-collar employees have the right to receive an old age pension when they reach the pension age and when they have completed the years of service in work, in accordance with the category of work which they have done. A male worker who has done a heavy or difficult type of work, which belongs to the first work category, receives his pension at 50 with 20 years of service in work; while, a female worker earns her right to pension at 45 with 15 years of service. Those workers who execute the type of work of the second category receive their pensions at 55 with 25 years of service, while women of this work category receive their pensions at 50 with 20 years of service. The male workers of the third category of work receive their pensions at 60 and female workers at 55 with 25 and 20 years of service respectively.

Female workers or female employees, regardless of the category of work they have done, when they have given birth and have raised six or more children up to the



age of 8 years, have the right to get complete old age pensions at 50 after having completed 15 years of service in work.

Agricultural cooperative members have the right to full old age pensions when they have reached 65 years of age and have completed 25 years of service; while female members of the agricultural cooperatives earn their right to a pension at 55 after having completed 20 years of service.

The amount of the pensions is 70 percent of the average monthly incomes that workers have earned during 3 consecutive years in the last 10 working years, giving them the right to choose the period in which they have earned larger incomes. The old age pension for workers and white-collar employees cannot be less than 350 leks nor more than 700 leks, per month.

A worker or an agricultural cooperative member, who has reached the age for pension but has not completed the years of service in work to earn full old age pension, has the right to receive a partial old age pension, provided that he has completed the following years of service: men, no less than 12 years and 6 months, and women, no less than 10 years of service. The partial old age pension is granted in proportion to the number of years in service.

When a worker has completed the years of service in work, but has left work without reaching the age for pension, a full pension or partial pension is given to him when he reaches the age for pension.

Disability pensions are granted to workers, white-collar employees and agricultural cooperative members who become disabled in work or become disabled within 30 calendar days from the day they leave work or from the day they fail to appear for work. This pension is granted when the worker has totally or partially lost his capability for work according to the disability group determined by the doctor-worker examination commission. When disability has been caused by an accident that has taken place at work pension is given regardless of the years of service in work; when disability is the result of a general illness or caused by an accident which has no connection with work, pension is granted if the worker has put in a number of years of service determined in proportion to his age, for example: between 20 to 25 years, men must have completed 2 years of service and women 1 year of service; while, above 55 years, men must have 16 years of service and women 12 years of service.

The disability pension is granted as follows: 85 percent for the first group, 70 percent for the second group, 60 percent for the third group and 40 percent for the fourth group over the average monthly incomes received during the year or during the last 3 years, chosen by the worker himself in accordance with the highest salary that he had received.

A worker or cooperative member, who becomes an invalid in the first or second groups, because of an illness or because of an accident which has no connection with work, and who has not completed the years of service in work required for determining a full pension, has the right to receive a partial disability pension, if he has no less than one fourth of the work time required for determining full pension. This pension is granted in proportion to the years of service.

Also, the members of a family who have been unable to work and have actually been dependent on the worker, white-collar employee or agricultural cooperative member receive family pensions if their supporter dies during his working life, or within 2 years of the day he has left work, if he is a worker, and within 30 days from the moment he has been absent from work, if he is a cooperative member.

The family pension is based on the average monthly salary differentiated in accordance with the number of dependent family members. Thus, for families with three or more members, the family pension is 65 percent of the average monthly salary; for families with two members, 50 percent and for a one-member family, 40 percent.

The parents, the adopted children and the surviving spouse who, at the death of the child or of the other spouse, have not reached the pension age, but have been capable of working, have the right to family pensions when they reach the required age or when they become unable to work. The right to seek a pension is not limited, that is, it can be requested at any time.

Also, some special workers have the advantage of an old age pension for their years of service, regardless of age, provided that they have a determined number of years of service. Those who profit by this pension are military men of the permanent active service, opera soloists, ballet dancers, soloist singers of the professional variety theater, soloists and dancers of the State Ensemble and of the People's Army Ensemble and circus acrobats who have given up their work because they can no longer continue their professions. Their pensions are granted on the basis of 35, 40 and 60 percent of the average monthly salaries.

Persons who have participated in the National Renaissance Movement, in the popular movements, the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle or in the revolutionary movements outside the country and have special merits, as well as the persons who have distinguished themselves in the fields of sciences, technology, culture and art and in state, social and economic activities, all have their right to pensions for special merits when they become unable to work or when they reach pension age, that is, for men at 55 and for women at 50, regardless of their years of service. The amount of the pension and the granting and stopping of these pensions are decided upon by decision of the Council of Ministers.

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CSO: 2100

## BRIDES CRITICIZED FOR STAYING HOME FROM WORK

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 20 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Tashko Lako: "On Brides Who Do Not Go to Work"]

[Text] During the first 9 months of this year, 625 brides have come in the villages of Fier District (either within the district or from outside the district); one half of these brides stayed entire months without going to work. From a calculation made, it appears that this "half" has not worked for approximately 12,000 work-days, a period during which they could have harvested beans from 600 hectares of land or raked over about 1,000 hectares of land sown with cotton or corn and so forth. These work-days, which have been lost, have had a negative influence on the fulfillment of the tasks on schedule. Nevertheless, the village Democratic Front organizations have not shown the necessary concern in regard to this fact, because they have not properly evaluated this problem of an ideological and economic nature.

As we can see, the old custom of keeping brides at home for a long period still has not been up-rooted. Of course, there are many positive examples and they are to be found precisely in those villages where negative examples are also observed. In Frakull village, for example, 10 newly married brides stayed at home for 15 days and, then, started work; in Pojan village a bride went to work 5 days after her wedding; in Agim village two brides went to work 5 days after their weddings; and eight other brides, married in Verri village, also went to work 5 days after their marriages. Nevertheless, the Democratic Front organizations are not taking advantage of positive examples in order to propagate them as much as possible and, through them, to struggle against the manifestations of the old custom that still raise their heads, keeping alive the "stains" of foreign ideology and harming the economy.

The reasonings given by these people who keep their brides at home without sending them to work are many. In Frakull village, they say: "All right, as soon as they get some rest. After all, they have come from work and they will go to work." And 12 brides from this village, by staying home several months without going to work, until "they get some rest," did not put in 750 work days, thus, they had a negative effect on the fulfillment of the tasks. The Democratic Front organization did not make this issue a family problem, a social problem. And this attitude has its reason. The Frakull agricultural cooperative is one of the agricultural units of this district which, this year, is regularly fulfilling its

tasks; and this fact has prevented the Front organization from noticing the absence of these brides who did not go to work; and it says: "We are doing well. We collected about 2,000 quintals of cotton and harvested about 120 hectares of corn." This is so; they have distinguished themselves; but, this fact does not give them the right to neglect such a problem of an ideological nature closely linked with the implementation of the pledges they have taken.

In Agim village people say: "Well...for a little while, until they make acquaintance with the people of the house..." By so saying, they want to justify, a little, the attitude toward the brides who do not go to work and toward those people who do not send them to work. But, who are the people whom the bride would like to know? They are the people she has been working with at the same cooperative, the people she met so many times when she was engaged. It is true, in the past, the bride could not have known the members of her husband's family, because she was kept closed up within the four walls of the house; while, today, it is different. She works together with other people and, in work, she has known these people and they have known her. And, because it agrees with such concepts, the village Front organization did not notice that six brides stayed home for over 2 months without going to work or that they did not put in 250 work days, during which period they could have harvested beans in 12.5 hectares of land or raked over 20 hectares sown with corn or cotton.

"We will go to work. In a little while..." And, it is with these words that in Pojan Agricultural cooperative six brides managed to stay home about 4 months without going to work, thus, failing to put in about 480 work days. Those are small figures for such a large agricultural unit, they say; but, we must not forget that it is precisely in this large agricultural unit that, so far, the cooperative members have harvested only 100 hectares of land out of 305 hectares sown with corn and have collected only 450 quintals of cotton of the 5,815 quintals that they have to pick. It is not at all correct for the Front organization to tolerate such thoughts. Let us remember that here a worker or a white-collar employee goes to work immediately after his wedding, while many village brides stay at home for entire months without going to work, and the Front organization closes one eye and one ear, instead of making this issue the problem of the family, of the society.

As the Front organizations in the village of Fier District have not properly evaluated this problem, therefore, their work suffers quite a bit in this direction. The front activists in the villages busy themselves with many problems concerning the assurance of the participation of forces in work, but not with this problem. The leaders of the Front in united villages and special villages have not examined this problem; in cooperation with the women's and youth organizations, they must carry out a more concrete work with the people in order to convince them that their brides must go to work immediately and not months after their weddings, just as the new popular song has it: "Oh, you young bride, you worked on Saturday, you married on Sunday and, again, you went to work on Monday."

9150

CSO: 2100



WRITERS' UNION HEAD URGES MORE DIVERSITY OF IDEAS IN MASS MEDIA

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 169, 12 Nov 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Hermann Kant Favors More Differences of Opinion in GDR Media"]

[Text] Hermann Kant, president of the GDR writers' union, criticized the mass media in the GDR for their aversion to conflict. The journalistic environment which is created in the GDR "is too narrow, is over-anxious, is determined by touchiness and suspicions which should not matter so in this world," he wrote in the East Berlin literary journal (SINN UND FORM (No 5, 1980). "More controversies must be published," according to Kant, and fear of differing opinions was out of place. At the same time Kant disassociated himself from his writer colleagues who had expressed their criticisms of certain GDR conditions over the radio and television of the FRG for lack of publication opportunities in their own country. It was "inadmissible to have conflicting political opinions blared out by a political adversary." Kant termed the "detour by the western route" a dead end.

According to Kant, the GDR writers' union attempted to intervene in previous difficult conflicts between the state and individual authors. The union's interests, he said, were not always identical with the interests of each individual writer, but neither were they by any means always identical with the "predominant interests of society at the time." He described his own role as union official as that of a "double advocate." He wanted to explain the state to his colleagues, his colleagues to the state. What the union was able to achieve in conflicts, he said, amounted to compromise, in any case.

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN BOOK ANALYZES ROLE OF MILITARY EDUCATION IN GDR SCHOOLS

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 13 No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 26 Sep 80 pp 1097-1099

[Review by Arnim Brux of the book "Wehrerziehung und vormilitaerische Ausbildung der Kinder und Jugendlichen in der DDR" [Military Education and Premilitary Training of Children and Youths in the GDR] by Juergen Hartwig and Albert Wimmel, No 14, Military Policy, Series of the Society for the Study of Contemporary Problems, Bonn; Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart-Degerloch, 1979, 207 pages]

[Text] In his pamphlet "Kann Europa abruesten?" [Can Europe Disarm?] Friedrich Engels demanded that "military training must be concentrated within the education of the youth, so as to achieve a reduction in the duration of military service. He added a proposal for the use of retired noncommissioned officers as instructors of gymnastics and close order drill of the students (MEW No 22, Berlin [East] 1963, p 282 f). Although the GDR can generally use professionally qualified cadres for sports instruction, it is nevertheless quite eager to accept a part of Engels' teachings and to utilize it in the training process within the educational system. This is shown not only in the incorporation of close order drill and exercises, as well as of military sports exercises into the physical education curricula, but also in the adoption of military training as a mandatory subject for the general polytechnical secondary school on 1 September 1978. It was precisely that last step that resulted in a sudden jump in the number of publications about premilitary training in the GDR within the context of sometimes vehement reactions in the East and the West.

Hartwig's and Wimmel's work does not limit itself to the explanation and analysis of military instruction, but undertakes the laudable task of demonstrating that military education is a pervasive principle and an interdisciplinary element of the entire educational and formative process of the youth of the GDR. In the introduction the authors set themselves the aim of explaining "the position of socialist military instruction within the monolithic social system of the GDR" and of "contributing to the filling of an information gap within the FRG regarding socialist military education and premilitary training in the GDR" (p 11). They also attempted to research not only the educational programs, but--as far as possible--also the educational realities. Due to the well-known lack of empirical material about the daily life in the GDR this task appeals especially to the reader's expectations. Hartwig and Wimmel concentrate on describing military education and premilitary training during childhood and adolescence, emanating from the basic assumption that "it is then that the basic attitudes and information for subsequent behavior according to norm are determined" (p 11). For the sake of completeness attention is also drawn to the pervasiveness of military training in the life of the GDR population, with the male part kept active to the 60th birthday by reservist exercises and the militia of the working class.

The authors have attempted to illustrate the problem area by the use of numerous original sources and documents that are cited extensively without comment. On the one hand this gives concrete proof for arguments, motives, aims and contents of military education and on the other it occupies the reader's attention with numerous direct quotes from the sources, which in content and terminology are often redundant and wordy.

Essentially, the work consists of three main thrusts. Chapters 1 to 3 provide an introduction to the general foundations of military training within the educational system, chapters 4 to 6 are devoted to military education in preschool and in school, while another 4 chapters deal with military education in the social organizations.

After a brief explanation of training and instruction in the GDR the talk turns to the fixing of the military education idea in the various laws and documents. With astonishment Hartwig and Wimmel realize that socialist military education is not expressly mentioned in the education law of 1965, but is evidenced only in commentaries to the law. The general guidelines for the military education of youth have been published in Chapter V of the law on youth. Like the constitution, it expressly points out that the defense of the socialist fatherland and the socialist community of nations is the right and honorable duty of all juveniles. The neglect of this honorable duty, e.g. refusal to perform military service, is punishable by imprisonment, as evidenced by a reference to the criminal code of the GDR (Article 25, Paragraph 1).

The two authors divide socialist military education into two basic areas--the emotional education could be defined as defense propaganda, in that it aims to develop the defense motives, socialist defense morale, and defense consciousness on the political-ideological and moral basis. This, as Walter Ulbricht postulated in the second of the "Ten commandments for the new socialist man," is designed to increase love of the fatherland and the readiness to "devote the entire strength and ability to the defense of the workers' and peasants' state" (p 31). The rational education is primarily directed at the communication of military-technological knowledge and skills, as well as at the development of the physical basis.

Hartwig and Wimmel demonstrate that military education is indeed an integral part of the entire socialization process, beginning almost in the cradle, by showing the training and instruction process in the kindergarten. Since children in that stage of development are especially open emotionally, military education concentrates primarily on the emotional side. Thus the children are to develop "feelings of closeness...to members of the armed forces," and, as a contrast, have to be shown a concrete concept of the enemy, in order to develop hatred for the class enemy. The depressing demonstration of manipulation of infants reaches its nadir in the characterization of military toys as pedagogically valuable. Their use is justified with the argument that they represent within a child's play an image of reality, they evoke technical knowledge and understanding, and thus lead to an examination of technology (p 47).

With a sense of urgency the authors depict the methods and contents of military education in the kindergartens, including the contribution made by the childrens' magazine BUMMI.

The sphere of influence of military training extends from preschool to the educational and formative process within the general educational polytechnical secondary school. It is demonstrated that every subject has to perform its appropriate function. Hartwig and Wimmel differentiate between four subject areas, the social-scientific, the mathematical-scientific and technological, the cultural-esthetic, and physical education, demonstrating impressively their specific tasks within military education. As an example, they turn to the German lessons of the first to fourth grades. On the basis of stories, poems and conversations (including those with members of the army) military educational ideology is to be carried out within German instruction. It is also directed at the development of the friend-foe image, the justification for the existence of armed organs, the development of positive attitudes toward the soldiers of the NVA and the Soviet comrades-in-arms, the justification of the Wall construction, and the formulation of socialist examples.

With numerous examples from reading texts of the primary classes the authors explain the multifaceted emotional influences on the students. The picture is concluded by a description of military training of the Thaelmann Pioneers, the Free German Youth (FDJ), with special mention of the Hans Beimler games, and the Society for Sports and Technology (GST).

The reader of the book will miss two topics--first a comprehensive placing of the topic into the historical framework, to include the genesis and the constituting of the idea of military training within the GDR; second the fulfillment of an expectation raised in the introduction, that military training would not be only commented upon through laws, regulations, directives, curricula and instructional material, i.e. on a normative level, but that the norms would be compared to the degree of realization within daily practical education. Such an attempt was condemned to failure due to the lack of empirical evidence. And thus the final conclusion of Hartwig and Wimmel is primarily speculative, when they argue that the introduction of military instruction indicated that defense readiness was different from official pronouncements, but that nevertheless youth "is inducted into military service, better prepared physically and psychologically than is the case in countries such as the FRG" (p 165). However, this limitation only marginally reduces the informational content of the book.

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INTERIOR MINISTER REVIEWS 1977/80 WORKER MILITIA TRAINING

East Berlin DER KÄMPFER in German Vol 24 No 11, Nov 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, member, SED Central Committee; minister of the interior; chief, German People's Police: "With Conviction and Confidence We Confront the Demands of the 1980's--Successful 1977/80 Training Period Has Created Favorable Preconditions for Task Fulfillment of 1981/85 Training Period"]

[Text] The worker militia has successfully concluded the 1977/80 training period in anticipation of the approaching Tenth SED Congress. In the struggle for the realization of the resolutions of the ninth party congress, the fighters, NCO's and commanders achieved exemplary deeds in fulfilling and surpassing the economic plan. By fulfilling the tasks of the training program so well, the worker militia secures its position within the national defense and makes an important contribution to the protection of our socialist fatherland and of peace. Thus it again proves its high class consciousness, its political maturity and its staunch loyalty to the worker party and to socialism. Members of the militia have once again in this time period shown themselves worthy of our party's great confidence.

Socialist Competition Furthered Greater Achievements

Under party leadership, the demanding goals and tasks of political and combat training were fulfilled by all units, combat collectives were universally strengthened, experienced commanders were further qualified and the required increase in combat strength and combat preparedness was achieved. All this leads to the conclusion that the 1977/80 training period will be remembered as one of the most successful in the history of the worker militia.

New initiatives grew out of a deep understanding for the necessity for the continuous and all-around strengthening of socialism, for the determined and successful fight against imperialism, against all variations of its ideology and against its peace-threatening provocations, combined with the unmasking of its aggressive goals and intrigues. The party's resolutions, orders and other instructions became even more disciplined, more creative and met with even better compliance. Both in the factories and in the units it was the communists who led in exemplary fashion.

An important part was played by the call by the Hans Beimler mechanized worker militia battalion in Potsdam and by the Franz Stenzer militia battalion in Eisenach for all militia units to join in socialist competition. The competition's tasks and goals were high. To reach and to fulfill them required strict organization, leadership and steady control from all those responsible for the political training and education, especially from the commanders. The calls for competition created a fantastic atmosphere in all the units. They demanded and promoted the combat readiness of every fighter, of every NCO and commander, and strengthened their determination to fulfill the goals to which they had obligated themselves in the competition. Of decisive significance was the political ideological work organized under the leadership of the party and continuously brought up to date, in close cooperation with the responsible officers of the People's Police, with commanders and government leaders in the respective factories. All this proves that socialist competition has reached a new level in the 1977/80 training period.

The main efforts were directed successfully to the further intensification of overall combat training. This was done through extensive, qualified political work which took into consideration the steadily intensifying international class struggle. The struggle for the total fulfillment of the tasks and goals set forth in training documents and in the socialist competition thus received a convincing and inspiring political motivation. The effects were seen in production, in the exemplary conduct of militia members in their fight to increase work productivity, for the most frugal use of materials, energy and fuel, for order, discipline and safety at work, for the fulfillment and surpassing of the economic plan. But above all, all members of the militia were made more conscious about the pitiless and uncompromising harshness of any possible combat action with the enemy and the absolute necessity for high and harsh demands for combat training and combat preparedness which result from that.

The regular participation by militia in training, and by commanders in extra-curricular qualifications, the outstanding results in combat-, rifle-, and special training, attest to the fact that militia members, NCO's and commanders actively support our party's policies and have drawn the correct conclusions from the international situation, which has been aggravated by United States imperialists and by NATO.

In the 1977/80 training period, essential progress was achieved regarding increased planning, tighter organization, improved quality and effectiveness, and especially a greater complexity and greater realism in training.

Reflected in this is the continuous qualitative improvement of commanders and NCO's as well as of comrades of the People's Police responsible for the training of the militia. They were even more successful in optimally using the short training period, in teaching knowledge and skills more intensively and more effectively, and in avoiding, i.e. not permitting, shutdowns in production.

## Day of Combat Preparedness Proved Everywhere

The total training results achieved prove that all units struggled successfully for highest achievements in armament, equipment and technology. This was especially manifest in the antiaircraft units which reached their best results yet during Combat Shooting 1980. Good to very good progress can be noted in achieving combat preparedness. Proof of this is the compliance with and even improvement of time limits allowed after sounding the alarm, the results of checking over weapons, technology and equipment, the "Day of Combat Preparedness," which has already become a tradition, and other measures. Through goal-directed political-ideological work and the closer cooperation between all those responsible for the worker militia, the organizational, material and leadership prerequisites, which enable the units to fulfill their mission promptly, at any time and under any conditions, were further improved under the leadership of the party.

The party continues to pay a great deal of attention to the qualification and proper employment of the commander cadre. Based on the long-term cadre development and employment programs worked out by leading party members in bezirks and kreises, a large number of younger commander cadres have been trained in recent years in accordance with their functions. They have successfully passed their examinations in practical service, especially by checking combat preparedness, and in the 1980 tactical maneuvers.

The high point of the 1977/80 training period was the tactical exercises at the conclusion of the 1980 training year. It was up to every unit, from independent platoon to mechanized militia battalions, to account to the first secretaries of the SED bezirk and kreis management how not only the last training year, but the entire training period had been used. These tactical exercises imposed noticeably higher demands. It was very impressive how these demands had been met by most of the units, men and commanders. Combat preparedness, the will to achieve, military knowledge and know-how all convincingly demonstrated an increase in combat strength and combat preparedness in the worker militia.

## Source of All Successes--Leading Role of the Party

Successes in military conduct by men and commanders, in organized cooperation, in the optimal use of firing power and the uniformity between combat collectives were obvious. The commanders acted quickly, with circumspection and with consistency. They demonstrated their improved capabilities in the successful leadership of their units. It became convincingly clear that they are able to meet all requirements and are able to master even complicated situations through well-founded decisions, precise combat orders and quick actions.

In evaluating the results of the 1977/80 training period, the following can be objectively noted: Increased combat strength and combat preparedness of the worker militia can be seen in all areas. This is primarily the result of the expansion of the party's leading role. This continues to be the decisive source and basic prerequisite for all successes of the worker militia, their continuous further development and strengthening. The increased combat strength of the party collectives in the units, the exemplary conduct of the communists, stronger military discipline and order as well as stricter individual leadership resulted in most units in a measurable increase in military strength.

The more goal-directed development in the competitive and innovative movements has affected this just as much as the greater emphasis placed on tradition. They had considerable influence on combat preparedness, the will to achieve and to gain military knowledge and skills.

#### Using Experiences

Partnership relationships between militia units and units of the NVA, of the People's Police and of the Soviet Army have again proved highly successful. This also applies to work with sponsored schools. And it must be noted that the influence and the effectiveness of militia units within the framework of socialist defense training, especially on our youth, have increased significantly, both in quality and depth.

The 1977/80 training period, and the tasks and goals set out in the training documents were demanding without a doubt. They challenged men as well as commanders by placing higher demands on them. The good and very good results are a success of which all participants can rightfully be proud.

In the past 4 years, much was achieved, much was created and many new things were learned. The experiences gathered in all areas are of immeasurable value. This will become manifest, especially in the next few years. At the 12th session of our party's Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized that it is the primary objective of the preparations for the Tenth SED Congress "to orient the party organizations and all comrades politically-ideologically in the requirements of the 1980's."

For the first time in militia history, the 1981-1985 training period will cover a 5-year period. It is thus organically integrated into the five-year cycle on the basis of which all decisive political and social activities are organized in our GDR under the leadership of the party. Based on all past experiences and under the goal-directed leadership of the party, and in close cooperation among all, those responsible for and within the worker militia will succeed in fulfilling the missions set forth in the training documents and in reaching the set goals.

#### What It Depends On Now

The following are important prerequisites for this:

Based on an extensive and in-depth study of the training documents, an objective evaluation of the results is to be carried out by the party in every unit and in every kreis. Especially the reasons and causes for good experiences and positive examples are to be evaluated thoroughly and conclusions are to be drawn.

The main efforts are to be directed to the highest achievements reached in the fulfillment of the tasks set forth in the training documents. This requires that the greatest attention continues to be paid to the intensification of overall training.



It must be assured that in every unit the results achieved so far are not accepted as final but rather than they are further improved. To this end, the heads of bezirk and kreis offices of the People's Police, in close cooperation with the NVA's defense commandos, must create all prerequisites and must continuously give the commanders instruction and support, especially through further improvement of extracurricular training.

All militia members are to be taught the pitiless laws and hardships of modern battle through effective political-ideological education, and through complex and more realistic combat training. Physical and psychological stress is to be increased deliberately. Trainers and commanders must guarantee that the men and crew completely master their weapons, equipment and technology, that they perform at their highest potential and that they are capable of hitting the target with the first shot.

All available knowledge must be employed in order to further improve methods, standards, quality and effectiveness of the NCO's. There must not be an hour of training without thorough preparation. Organization and effectiveness of material as well as technical and medical supplies are gaining more and more in significance and must be improved further in accordance with growing demands. It is important to assure the most sensible use of available funds.

The content of partnership and sponsorship contracts must be made more precise in the interest of increasing combat value and combat preparedness of every unit, and of increased socialist defense training of our youth, respectively.

The "Day of Combat Preparedness" should be carried out in all units and kreises in order to achieve a universal coordination of measures.

The Ernst Thaelmann Central Militia School, the Ernst Schneller Militia School in Gera and all other schools must give commanders, NCO's and militia specialists even more practical knowledge, must improve their skills, create a sufficient elimination process in the entire education and training process, and support the further development of the militia through their own scientific-theoretical research.

On the basis of the central call for competition in honor of the Tenth SED party congress by the mechanized Ernst Thaelmann militia battalion in Rostock, the competition must be conducted rigidly in every unit, accounted for publicly, a goal-directed exchange of experiences must be pursued, and an enthusiastic, competitive atmosphere must be created, in order to increase broad-scale efforts in support of highest achievements in all areas.

#### Applying New Criteria

The party's resolutions for the 1981-85 training period show to everyone the criteria and demands for the increase in combat strength and combat readiness which the worker militia must achieve. They are higher, because the international class struggle has become more intense, because--as comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in his opening speech for the 1980/81 training year in Gera--the

fight for peace--mankind's greatest treasure--has entered a new phase of greater conflict. Great alertness, order and discipline are necessary everywhere. It is the task of every man, NCO, commander and everyone responsible to do justice to the new increased demands on the GDR's defense preparedness in the 1980's. The motto for our actions is the reliable protection of our socialist fatherland, of socialism and of peace. The worker militia as well as the people's police, closely allied with all workers of our republic, are determined to make this motto a reality through their dedicated work and actions: "The best for the tenth party congress! Everything for the people!"

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'LE FIGARO' ANALYZES PZP, CC SEVENTH PLENUM RESULTS

LD051429 Paris LE FIGARO in French 4 Dec 80 p 3

[Dispatch by Bernard Margueritte: "Poland: Nothing Has Been Resolved"]

[Text] Following the Seventh Polish Party Central Committee Plenum you can only feel compassion for Kania and his friends--everything indicates that they know what should be done but have, unfortunately, been affected by a paralyzing impotence. But perhaps, as the hero of Wyspianski's "The Wedding" says, it would be sufficient to "want to have a will of your own?"

The seventh plenum gave the present leadership the last chance to increase its credibility and recover public confidence somewhat. Let us say that this opportunity has been missed almost completely. The Central Committee has again shown that it was only able to deal with personnel questions, making changes here and condemning there. However, the leaders have again shown that they are incapable of finding any answer to the fundamental questions which the country is asking itself.

Is it an attitude worthy of scientific socialism merely to exclude Gierek from the Central Committee or dare to envisage the sacking of Jaroszewicz from the party ("This would be something extraordinary," a very excited activist told me, "because it would be the first time that such a thing had happened to someone decorated with the Order of Lenin")?

If Gierek's rule--just like that of Gomulka--ended disastrously, was this not because of the failure of a system which should, therefore, be subjected to analysis?

Nor has anything concrete emerged with respect to the future. The program remains nebulous, vague, and uncertain. What is more, you would look in vain for any draft agenda for its implementation. It is, therefore, understandable that a feeling of bitterness and disappointment now prevails everywhere, including the party.

Many party organizations have already reported this to the Central Committee and the Central Committee organ TRYBUNA LUDU. This plenum of dupes has increased the risk of destabilization within the party itself.

So far, for want of anything else, some personnel changes have been made. It is true that steps have been taken in the right direction, but it is generally believed that they have not gone far enough. The departure of Kruczek, the former trade union boss, Karkoszka, who was Warsaw first secretary until recently, Werblan who was in charge of ideology, and security chief Kowalczyk was expected, as was the promotion of General Moczar to the Politburo and Fiszbach's appointment as Politburo candidate member.

#### Four Trends...

It has been obvious since Sunday that so far Kania has saved his post. He owes this mainly to two calming statements made just before the plenum by Walesa and Solidarity leaders in Warsaw, for which, I was told, the party leadership had assiduously asked.

However, can it be said that Kania has achieved success? It is true that he has saved his job, but he has had to pay a high price for it. There existed hitherto four trends in the party--that of liberals wanting profound reforms, that of Kania which favored a cautious renewal, that of the center-right which wanted to reconcile democratization with regaining control, and, finally, that of the advocates of a return to orthodoxy.

In his report, the first secretary had to give the center-right important pledges by clearly coming out in favor of "renewal without anarchy." What is more, he had to agree to appoint to the Politburo General Moczar and Mr Grabski, both of whom, together with Mr Olszowski, are among the main leaders of a faction which is now playing a determining role among the party leadership.

In view of all this, it is understandable that in this plenum speech General Moczar could afford to praise Kania and the content of his report. This is also probably why, contrary to expectations, two moderate leaders--POLITYKA chief editor Rakowski and culture minister Tejchma--have not become Politburo members. It is not in their direction that the party is moving.

#### ...And Four Objectives

What policy will this new leadership pursue? It has set four fundamental objectives for itself:

First, eliminating corrupt and incompetent elements from the party. The steps taken at the plenum with respect to Gierek, Jaroszewicz, and other former leaders have confirmed this;

Second, achieving a broad national unity among reasonable patriots, in particular, in conjunction with the Church and moderate "Solidarity" members. The presence of Kania with Walesa and Cardinal Wyszynski in Gdansk on 16 December at the inauguration ceremony of a memorial to workers killed 10 years ago would be a symbolic gesture which is now being considered and which could create a great stir;

Third, continuing with the implementation of the renewal and democratization program;



And, fourth, pursuing a policy of firmness to restore discipline in the country, as demanded by many participants in the plenum discussion.

This final aspect could exert a positive influence by inducing "Solidarity" leaders to continue to draw closer to Kania, especially in view of the fact that, as they know, the majority of Politburo members is now in favor of regaining control. It is clear how narrow the path is which Kania must follow, at least until a congress is held.

Especially since, even though any trouble in the country is likely to alarm the Soviets, the latter could well become even more alarmed by any attempt to reach an agreement among reasonable Poles with a view to implementing a more democratic brand of socialism, the delaying tactics favored by Kania, who seems to be a kind of a Kutuzov of politics, are unlikely to arouse enthusiasm, but let us admit that his position is far from enviable.

CSO: 3100

# GULCZYNSKI EXAMINES CAUSES OF CRISIS

Warsaw LITERATURA in Polish Nos 42, 43; 16, 23 Oct 80

[Article by Mariusz Galczynski: "To Understand the Crisis"]

[No 42, 16 Oct 80 pp 1, 10]

[Text] Without exaggeration we can say that at present the main task is to work out those ways of overcoming the next sociopolitical and economic crisis in our system, in order that at last we may overcome the tendency towards cyclical recurrences, as designated by significant months in the Polish calendar: October 1956, December 1970, and August 1980. And less significant ones too, because they turned out to be trivialized signs of the swelling of the crisis: in the form of the events of March 1968 and June 1976.

After all, it is not enough for there to be good intentions, which, after all, were not lacking before, either. What is essential is a correct definition of the sources of crises and the programming of a strategy which promises that they will be consistently eliminated. Therefore, an understanding of the causes of crisis and its nature is an essential condition to endowing actions aimed at restoring our system to functional operation with a nature which is more rational and which promises greater hope for improvement which is more lasting than that which has followed previous crises.

A qualitatively different course and reaction to the current crisis and the forms involved in it favors such an understanding and therefore victory: Free of unbridled spontaneity on the part of those protesting distortions. On the other hand, on the part of the deciding parties, it would take the form of well-considered measures, which is undeniably better than those methods adopted during the previous crises, methods which were comparable to lashing out at waves. But the beginning of the departure from the peak phase of the crisis also turned out to be free of the former euphoric delight and excessively glib hopes for immediate improvement.

This at the same time creates the demand and climate for intellectual mastery of the crisis, and therefore also the rationalization of efforts aimed at overcoming it. On the other hand, this can be accomplished only by allowing public opinion to test the attempts to understand the reasons for the crisis and the proposals for ways out of it.

### Nature of the Crisis

Let us start by stating the obvious.

The symptoms of the crisis appeared with increasing clarity during the latter half of the 1970's in all key spheres of our social organism:

In the sphere of production, in the failure to balance the production of interdependent sectors and enterprises, which led to interruptions in work and shut-downs (far in advance of the strikes, and harder to remove) and a related breakdown in the relationship between plans and their fulfillment, a problem which was by no means resolved but which became worse as the result of a voluntaristic policy of "open plans" and so-called manual control;

In the sphere of distribution, in the increasing imbalance between the demand for (or total material and cultural needs of the society) and the supply of goods and services to satisfy these needs, an imbalance worsened by the granting of privilege to certain regions, professions, echelons of the service hierarchy, and persons, all which created the ground for the popularization of a climate of struggle for the satisfaction of one's own needs better than others' and at the cost of others' unscrupulously;

In the political sphere, in the growing injustice of institutional mechanisms of socialist democracy as revealed in the replacement of the process of openness and coordination of the basic aspiration of the forces of our society with upper-echelon autocratic inflicting of programs which were the result of back-room bargaining among various pressure groups; in replacing the elective system in the party and other organizations with the system of coopting people; in replacing the system of assessment and control of the various institutions with self-evaluation of bodies responsible for carrying out tasks, and in turning the mass information system into a tool of inefficient manipulation of public consciousness, which, taken altogether, blocked the possibility of revealing, analyzing, and overcoming manifestations of crisis in a conscious and organized way and led to paralysis in the party, state, trade unions, and other related organizations.

The glaring intensity of the above-mentioned manifestations of crisis and of others omitted for the sake the the necessary brevity creates the danger of the focusing of efforts aimed at reforming the republic to combat these symptoms, while neglecting the detection and combatting of their more deeply-rooted causes, after the example of the proverbial treating of the fever instead of the tuberculosis or treating hoof-and-mouth disease instead of hepatitis. Most of the sphere involved in the crisis is threatened with the danger of dispersion of the energies of interested parties to make piecemeal repairs through mutually uncoordinated measures.

Another type of trap, which we also fell into in the previous attempts to overcome the crises, is to be found in the conducting of efforts toward positivist measures, a special sort of patchwork with all sorts of different corrective measures. To be found in this and the more highly developed capitalist countries, measures which can be monitored that way for organizing the society but not adaptable without a comprehensive change of political system. As everyone knows, on the other hand, nobody of any consequence expects that. It is possible to combat the threat of eclectic improvements only by developing a complex strategy for the improvement of the socialist system of our society in keeping with the requirements of the present day and the future.

The next type of trap on the road towards improvement consists of assessments which treat all people fighting against distortions of socialism during the past period as people fighting against socialism itself, and therefore they equate the defense of socialism with an uncritical attitude and the defense of everything socialist, including the distortions. The creation of such false fronts, instead of a real categorization into: a) those attacking the distortions on behalf of the improvement of socialism, b) those attacking distortions which are essential properties of socialism and therefore undermining and weakening socialism, and c) those defending socialism together with the distortions, can be and is beneficial to antisocialist forces, regardless of the subjective intentions. The fact that spokesmen for the defense of socialism along with the distortions determined the policy of the party and state right up to the Fourth Party Plenum foreordained the paralysis of possible action on the part of a substantial share of the activist group calling for a consistent combatting of distortions on behalf of the improvement of socialism and created a situation making it also possible for antisocialist elements to join the spontaneous workers' movement on the behalf of the improvement of socialism. The universality of prosocialist attitudes in the working class made it necessary for these individuals to camouflage their antisocialist intent and made the essence of the workers' protest a struggle to purify socialism of the distortions. In order to combat the trap of false categories, it is necessary not only to combat the opinions and views of this type held by the adversaries but also to compromise them in the essence of interpretation in the realm of the prosocialist activist group.



The next type of trap, the one I believe to be the least dangerous in practice, but it runs the risk of pushing part of the pro-socialist forces on the track of bitterness and glaring opposition, is the apologetics for the irrevocable, idealized past from the time of the political revolution or the birth of socialist industrialization and the call for a return to the virtues and rules of behavior of that time. It is to be expected that the activists who during the previous crises allowed themselves to be pushed into the position of tragic and plaintive ex-revolutionaries will be joined by new ones complaining about the past shape of the trade unions or other institutions rather than fighting for the socialist content of new bodies. This is why it is so important to be forewarned about such a trap and to take action favoring the joining of everyone in favor of making the socialist transformations deep and lasting, into the process of thinking and action aimed at overcoming the crisis.

The obvious remedy for this type of trap, the detection and overcoming of the causes of the crisis, still is not free of one extremely important dangerous rocky area. This is personification, limiting the causes of the crisis to the lack of skill or the dishonesty of certain decision-makers of our past policy. This faulty course neglects analysis, in keeping with Marxist rules, of the social forces supporting this policy. This inevitably creates the tendency to limit remedial measures to changes in personnel and neglects a more thorough-going analysis of the causes of the distortions, failing to demand that the new teams making the decisions carry out a concrete program to consistently overcome these causes. This trap is not illusory. It was first reflected in the drafting of an assessment of the distortions of the Stalinist period, an assessment which individually blamed the leader without any Marxist assessment of the underlying ground providing the soil for the existence and repetition of this type of deviation. On the other hand, in our country, twice (in 1965 and 1970) after being satisfied with a change of leadership, the leader's contacts with the society were reduced to one-sided monologues, first applauded with genuine enthusiasm, and then, owing to the bitterness of the organizers, there was no thorough analysis of the causes of the crisis or any program promising to eliminate them. In order to get through the rocky shoals we must associate the changes in personnel in the decision-making circles with the setting up of profound discussions in the party and in the society, discussions to reveal the capability of understanding the origin of the distortions, the nature of the interests of the basic forces of our society, and skill in organizing progressive compromises.

The definition and compromising of the above-mentioned traps, dangers, and rocky shoals on the way to improving the people's republic are justified by the desire to channel the search for the causes of the crisis, which we are living through once again and set it on a different course from previous history.

After all this is not and never has been in the past a crisis in the socialist formation of the society. This is shown by the fact that loans and adaptations from capitalism and also a deep commitment to the international division of labor in the capitalist world without sufficient prior reflection have made our crisis worse during the past ten-year period rather than overcoming it as had been intended. It is also proved by the fact that capitalism is currently going through a deep crisis in various areas of social life and up until now has found no way out of it. It would therefore be absurd to expect theoretical or practical solutions to our problems from that source. We should also call to mind the obvious circumstance that, except for little fringe groups with inheritor or foreign agent tendencies, none of the important political forces is calling for a change in the socialist formation of our society. Instead they are all fighting for changes which will be beneficial for them within it.

This was not however, as was thought in October 1956 and December 1970, merely a crisis created by inadequate flexibility in the formulation of the strategy for further socialist development. Flexibility led each time to eclecticism, the search for all sorts of different solutions, from one end to the other, which, after short-lived delight in eclectic freedoms (along with "slack"), led to disappointments and the more the innovations inculcated failed to coincide with the socialist logic of the system, the deeper the disappointment.

Nor was this only a crisis in carrying out proper strategy which suffered as the result of lack of skill or dishonesty on the part of the organizers of social life. The negative decision-making elements usually became apparent when the inadequacy of the strategy was revealed in the unmet requirements for the development of the society, that is, the need to choose between a revision of the strategy and attempts to force its realization stubbornly in spite of objective capabilities, hence, using the strength of all sorts of means, with priority given to excessive zeal while eyes were closed at the same time to dishonesty.

In the implied context of the negation of the above assessments of the sources of crisis and the ways to improve the republic is the hypothesis that the root of the causes is to be found in the "birth pangs" related with our society's transition from a lower phase of socialist revolution to a higher one. These pains are made greater by the forcing of priorities and principles which are contrary to the new requirements and are appropriate for the previous phase of socialist transitions, and modifications contrary to the logic of our system, aided by the uncritical borrowings of economic, technological, and ideological solutions which have grown up under the conditions of various political systems.

In order to overcome the repetitive nature of the crises, it is therefore necessary to define the original socialist strategy for further development, one free both of the encumbrances of our own past and of the apparent modifications stemming from capitalism.

### Social Sources of Crisis

The following circumstances make it difficult to accomplish this task, that is, they hamper the advancement of socialist societies which have built the foundations for making industrialization universal in the higher phase of revolutionary changes:

- a) the existence of social forces interested in making permanent the situation appropriate for the preliminary phase which assigns priority to the sector of the means of production for the production of the means of production and not those branches which directly serve the population's consumer needs;
- b) weaknesses in the forces objectively interested in the industrialization of branches serving consumer needs, factions of the working class from those sectors, employees from the services sector, and peasants, people slow to become aware of the nature and demands of progress, which they are supposed to bring about, people who are dispersed and do not have intellectual and political representation adequate to meet the requirements;
- c) education of the block of social forces interested in treating the manifestations of the natural extinction of the effectiveness of the regulations for operation from the times of socialist industrialization as proof of the limited effectiveness of socialist ways to further progress, forcing converging modification through the adaptation of technological and political solutions and a consumption model taken from the highly advanced capitalist countries. Alongside the remnants of the petty capitalist sector in our country we find certain factions of the young intelligentsia. But at the same time it must be admitted that the greater they are the more negative the effects are of continuing a strategy from a phase which actually belongs the past but has not been overcome, and this has compromised the solutions identified not with a transition period but with the essence of the social method of management and political organization of the society.

It would be very interesting to compare the above-mentioned schematic system of forces with the network of events which has taken place in our country. It will be necessary to do this in the very near future, in order to understand the essence of our most recent history. Now, being governed by the discipline of the requirement to give a brief presentation of the model features and abnormalities in our development, I will limit myself to saying that both in October 1956 and in December 1970 we failed to overcome the conflicting aspirations and compromise easing

of conflict situations. First of all in both cases with corrections in favor of the forces calling for a change in priorities to favor the production of the means of consumption and socialist regulation of distribution and political relations. Later this changed quite a bit.

After all, in the 1960's we were dealing with attempts to ease the increasing conflicts of interest by using short-sighted defensive tactics for every economic development tendency, a policy which wound up leading to the threat of mass unemployment of those from the so-called demographic rise who were entering the work force and the notorious attempt to eliminate a host of enterprises and complete branches of industry, all this ending in the events of December 1970.

On the other hand, in the 1970's, after a basically successful definition of the need to change the accent from economic development to socio-economic development at the Sixth Party Congress, which was a political contribution to the essence of tasks in the new phase, a rather rapid regression took place in two ways, because there was a special sort of compromise of the forces interested in continuing the fundamental assumptions of the strategy from the phase of the construction of the bases of socialist industrialization with the forces in favor of overcoming the deficiencies of such a strategy and practice through uncritical adaptation of solutions from the highly developed capitalist countries. The basis of this paradoxical compromise of the enduring aspects of socialism with the solutions of another self-overhaul was the broad influx of credit from the west to help satisfy the appetites of both sides, credit which paralyzed the forces interested in creating an originally socialist strategy for further development with short-term spectacular effects.

The association of elements of strategy suitable for a past, accomplished phase of construction of the foundations of socialism with the adaptation of foreign models disintegrated into an eclectic practice which dominated the 1970's, a practice which ran contrary to the requirements of rational development of our society. The inadequacy of such a policy to deal with the possibilities and necessity of further development of our society led and was bound to lead to crisis, the results of which had a negative impact not only on the factions of society which had been harmed from the beginning but also those which had initially been favored, because the complementary nature of our socialism organism makes it impossible in the long run to give priority to certain sectors over others, and therefore to certain social groups at the cost of others. The resulting inconsistency in the aspirations of the various factions of the working class and its allies inevitably also carries with it inconsistency in action, and therefore the increased disharmony and lack of functionality of the key links in social life.



And if it is generally known, this very fact creates chances for commitment to overcoming the sources of crisis, commitment not only on the part of those factions of the working class and its allies which have been wronged but also on the part of the more mature groups which prefer the previously beneficial special-interest policy, which ultimately has been responsible for a backlash situation which is unfavorable to them too.

#### What to Overcome and How

In order to overcome the essential, not just apparent, and recurring sources of disharmony in the functioning of our economic and political system and the resulting general social dissatisfaction, it is necessary to overcome the basic elements of both sides of the predominating sick compromise which has held sway during the past period in all key areas of our social life. I am emphasizing that it is both sides or tendencies, and not just one, because there are already signs of attempts to reduce the attack to compromised elements of remnants of the strategy from the previous phase, which are all the easier to combat in that they show up more clearly by virtue of their archaic nature and degenerative tendencies. At the same time criticism of the adaptation of the capitalist models is silenced, and further borrowings of this type are called upon as a remedy for the crisis.

Above all this requires the compromising and combatting of two assumptions which have been directing our practical efforts during the past decades: generalization of the gradual staged task from the previous phase of the socialist revolution, and uncritical borrowing from other political systems providing a model for progress in the productive forces.

The generalization of a phased task consists above all, as I have already mentioned, of giving priority to the expansion and modernization of the sector of the means of production for the production of the means of production, to a far greater degree than this sector has provided the other spheres of the national economy with the possibility of a growth in items meeting the consumer needs of the society. As a result, the substantial expansion of this special sort of "fly-wheel" of expanded reproduction of material conditions of social life did not bring about the projected essential effects in the form of overcoming the archaic level of the means of production and expanding the productivity of light industry, food industry, agriculture, construction, services, and so on. This sector still consumed more energy and resources than it turned out. The permanent nature of this sort of severe difference deepened the already earlier existing imbalances between the supply of consumer items and the demand.

These imbalances were heightened rather than being lessened, as had been expected, by the uncritical adaptation of the model of progress of the production forces in the highly advanced capitalist countries, along with engineering and technologies imported therefrom in an uncritical way and basically without any real plan. This model came into being, expanded,

and was approved by its relative functionality under qualitatively different conditions which caused priority to be given to time-saving, energy-intensive solutions requiring raw materials of the highest quality. This is at least open to discussion as to whether these values are consistent with our objective capabilities and whether they favor the optimal use of the trump cards at our disposal. On the other hand there are undeniable detriments which such marvelous imports have brought to our economy in the assumption, imports which were marvelous in the assumption but dismal in results, such as enormous livestock installations dependent on imported feed, which cause the pollution of the environment instead of the fertilization of the soil, like the elimination of local dairies which have given way to gigantic plants which require greater transportation and which make it harder to get the milk, like the purchase of the Massey-Fergusson tractor license instead of cooperative production with Czechoslovakia to make an improved version (from all accounts a splendid one, according to the experts) or the license for Ferliet to resurrect our miserable urban transportation instead of cooperative production of the undeniably better Ikarus with the Hungarians.

It was no accident that the policy for the development of production forces during the past decade was directed by the above two briefly defined tendencies which conflicted with the requirements of the rational industrialization of our economy. Nor was it the result of ill will or insufficient knowledge. It was predestined by the special interests of large, important factions of our society, and this is both factions of the large-industrial working class and the technical and administrative intelligentsia having a predominating influence on the people at that time in the decision-making units and on the programs for the development of the country. And it was this food which nurtured the increasing inadequacy of such a policy which abounded with instances where absurd or harmful decisions were made as the result of an intimate clique or of an indulged tendency to gestures of great power.

The fact that the development of the complementary whole, our socioeconomic organism, was subordinated to special interests of a part produced negative results ultimately for all, including factions of the society which previously had preferred such a policy, creates the possibility of reassessing it. The consistent overcoming of negative elements by reducing them and, most important, the creation and inculcation of a strategy to fit our capabilities and needs, a strategy to restore the balance between the major sectors of our economy, a strategy to take into account our natural strong points, for example such resources as coal, sulfur, and copper, and therefore the possibility and necessity of achieving more lasting effects by basing our efforts to a greater extent on processing them rather than on exporting them in the raw state, appreciating the objective fact proved by experience that optimum opportunities for entering into an international division of labor are created by expanding our strength in competitive cooperation with capitalism (let us be aware of the fact that there is no noncompetitive cooperation and there cannot be any!) through the actual and not declared

expansion of joint production bonds linking us to our natural partners in CEMA, a strategy creating opportunities for taking maximum advantage of the most important element of our productive forces, personnel more numerous in our countries than in other, mostly young, educated, sensible workers, members of the intelligentsia, and peasants.

The source of progress necessary for expanded reproduction of social life in the area of the development of production forces so crucial to that reproduction is the development and inculcation of a strategy for the industrialization of all branches of our national economy, a strategy which is optimally rational from the viewpoint of our country's objective capabilities and the requirements of its development to satisfy all the members of the socialist society.

It is obvious that such a reassessment of the strategy cannot occur in the form of the unveiling of a program thought out up above in the hush of the offices of scholars or politicians, a program handed down to be believed in by the rest of the nation. It needs profound, universal discussion in which all politically active Poles take part. In calling for a no-holds-barred discussion to bring to light all the negative aspects of the recent past and check all possible variants for rationalizing our further development, I am paying particular attention to the need not to limit ourselves merely to the above-mentioned sphere of development of production forces. It is necessary to overcome both sorts of deviation peculiar to the 1970's by creating and inculcating original ways of progress consistent with the requirement of the next phase of development of socialism also in such key areas as improved satisfaction of the material and cultural needs and the improvement of the democratic nature of the institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The second part of this article treats this aspect.

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Understand the crisis in order to overcome it effectively in a lasting way. To do this it is necessary to overcome the deviations peculiar to the 1970's by creating and inculcating original ways of progressing which are consistent with the requirements of our next phase of socialist development, ways like: 1) development of production forces to insure rational industrialization of all sectors of production and services; 2) improvement of the satisfaction of material and cultural needs consistent with socialist rules of distribution; 3) improvement of the democratic nature of the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I say that only a comprehensive approach to and implementation of the tasks of progress consistent with the requirements of a higher phase of socialist revolution in these three key areas, and therefore also in other areas of social life derived therefrom, will permit any consistent

overcoming of the crisis, a way out of this special sort of "vicious circle" of incomplete, inconsistent changes peculiar to the past 2 decades, a way out of the "spiral" of further socialist development.

In the first part of this article, published a week ago, I focused on the first of the above-mentioned spheres. Here I will try to take up the causes of the crisis and the ways out of the last two.

#### Deviations and Corruption in the Sphere of Distribution

During the 1970's social practice in the sphere of the distribution of goods was dominated by a special sort of association of a) the generalization of the principles in force in the industrialization phase, and b) adaptation of models of prosperity from the highly advanced capitalist countries.

The generalization, or treatment of principles correct under certain conditions and therefore within a certain timeframe as correct for all time, by the nature of things took on a shape that was deformed and even absolutely degenerate. And so the principle of relatively low labor force costs was also justified under conditions where there was a need to accumulate funds to accelerate the construction of the foundations for industrialization, and this principle was possible, because it provided most employees with advancement in their standard of living in relation to the previous situation (prewar unemployment and wartime hunger). To maintain this principle for the majority of employees as a fixed rule was an anachronism, and the failure to overcome it in a conscious, calm way was bound to lead to the push for new worker wage demands through strikes. Similarly the limiting of employees' influence on plant management might be relatively justified under conditions where most of the employees had recently arrived from rural areas and small towns, employees who had to be taught factory work discipline and qualitatively different rules for organizing the production process. On the other hand, this became absurd as the workers matured to the point where they had intellectual mastery not only of their piecemeal activity but also of the processes coming about in the plant and the society. The absurdity was all the greater in that the maintenance of the previous status had to assume the form of autocratic moves breaking any attempt at evolution in the inculcation of new principles. And it was out of this that was born the necessity also in this sphere to manifest a new working class maturity during the strikes and to fight for the need to overcome the old principles by inculcating qualitatively new ones.

On the other hand, in terms of the feelings in the society, the most disturbing form was manifested in the principle of privileged access to higher level goods by way of exceptions for certain people and echelons in the service and professional hierarchies. Although of doubtful moral status, always, such privilege could be justified, when it was aimed at relieving famous scholars or organizers of social life of the need to



spend a lot of time securing for themselves the necessities of life. I It was also possible to recognize the rationale behind attracting people to the professions which were of particular social importance or burdensome by giving them privileges over others (as we can see, for example, in the "Miner's Card").

Nevertheless, the generalization of this principle in relation to a situation requiring not so much that the privileged be freed from a state of insufficiency as using this means to make prosperity available to them proved to be a distortion which is probably already evident. We should not therefore be surprised that various sorts of deviations and depravations grow out of the fertile humus soil created by a muddled system of the most varied sorts of privileges (Jerzy Chlopecki, who wrote in PRAWO I ZYCIE, 31 Aug of this year, was right when he said that nearly all of us avail ourselves of some sort of privilege).

Judgment must be passed on all those who have revealed how shallow their character is by availing themselves of opportunities to enrich themselves at the cost of others, and the bodies of people's power created for this purpose must be consistent in eliminating from our landscape the "heirs" of the 1970's ready to sit on the porches of their luxurious country cottages or behind the window panes of their special dwellings and ridicule the honest people for being naive. Nonetheless, in order to overcome the sources of these distortions and depravations, it is necessary to do away overall with any sort of privileges for people, service echelons, professions, or plants. We have already matured to the point where clear, unequivocal rules can be introduced for distribution according to essential needs for all and according to work in relation to needs which are aspirations.

The increase in the distortion of the principles of distribution of goods was caused to a great extent by the surrender to the effect of the demonstration of models of prosperity taken from the highly advanced capitalist countries. I wrote in more detail on this subject in LITERATURA (No 37, 38 of this year), so I can leave it at merely a brief mention that this model, although tempting to many, has no chance of being popularized in countries which have exploited others in the past or are doing so now (thanks to their superiority in terms of capital), and it is not possible to maintain it in the long run where it has been created. I refer as proof to a fact which is probably already obvious: the attempt to focus our economic potential on adapting the most spectacular aspects of that model, the private motorcar in particular, led to drastic neglect both of public transportation and of housing construction and the industrialization of agriculture.

It is essential that we take into account the fact that what we need is not just any sort of progress in production growth nor just any sort of industrialization of the branches producing the means of consumption. What is essential is to create and inculcate a strategy promising what from the point of view of our economic potential and the real chances

for its development is the most rational, to liberate all members of society from material shortages, and to encourage vocational activity by making higher-level goods available to every serious employee, regardless of his profession or echelon in the service hierarchy.

In other words, it is necessary to direct the further development of our economy by working out in a public discussion with all Poles a model of prosperity which is more promising than in capitalism for the working force's industrial-level consumption.

Those which are more promising than under capitalism means those which:

Insure each person able to work not only a job but work which is well-organized on the scale of the plant and the country, work which provides satisfaction owing to the fact that all have a shared role in programming a rational plan for collection action;

Assure that all members of the society are freed of material shortages by guaranteeing each person the satisfaction of his essential needs on the level of the social minimum;

Awaken vocational activity by giving surpluses over and above essential needs as bonuses to provide access to goods of a higher order for any more productive work, regardless of the profession or function;

Insure an adequate level of and improvement in the infrastructure of collective consumption in such spheres as education, transportation, health care, and recreation, in which it is possible in the most rational way to eliminate all shortages and achieve prosperity accessible to each person;

Block chances for depreciation of the values of the wealth achieved by all those honestly working, by having the proper legal efforts of the state bodies make it impossible to achieve prosperity by means other than more productive work or to create elite islands of ostentatious luxury;

Liberate from the competitive race appropriate to the capitalist method of production all elements of the economic process in processing natural products into goods, a race which leads to economic crisis; permit the adoption of the strategy laid down for rational adaptation of nature to people's living needs now and in the future. The rules in effect during the first phases of the socialist revolution for the just liberation of all people from shortages have proved to be inadequate for the new situation, which requires a just distribution of access to prosperity.

There is no other way to achieve progress in this sphere, just as in the previous one, than democratization of the method by which

aspirations are coordinated and therefore by which the program negotiated in public discussions is carried out in a conscious, organized way.

#### Requirements of Democratization

The heart of the transformations which must be made in the sphere of the democratization of political relations is the consistent reduction, compromising, and overcoming of everything which has made it difficult or impossible for the party, and therefore also the state, the trade unions, and the youth organizations, to fulfill the role of instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat and organizers of this class's alliance with the peasantry and other strata of our nation.

This requires above all the elimination of both a) a paternalistic attitude toward the working class and b) manipulatory managerial methods borrowed from capitalism for guiding production and social life.

In our country paternalism has taken the form of treating the working class and its main ally, that is, the peasant class, as unimportant, immature children incapable of understanding their own interests, of selecting organizers of social life and control and implementors of the results of social activity by having the decision-making political, administrative, and ideological elements make the choice. This is why the managerial elements have assumed the whole realm of decisions in these spheres, with organization along the lines of the patriarchal family model, in which the all-knowing father, who is always objective, makes all the decisions and organizes the whole structure of social life, with the aid of hierarchial structures of "uncles" and "older brothers" who accept his authority.

This style of exercising authority developed in a situation where the sudden rise in the number of people in the working class as the result of socialist industrialization made its largest factions a "class in themselves" without maturing subjectively to a role of the leading force which only a "class for itself" can play. Meanwhile there was a special sort of need for the political, ideological, and administrative representatives of the working class and its peasant allies to play the role of the leading force, and also to rely on habits appropriate for production groups based not on learned qualifications but experience acquired with age, making it necessary to become subordinate without any appeal either to the head of a farm or to a foreman. It is my contention that this was the soil out of which the so-called cult of the individual grew and was maintained. As the objective circumstances came into being for overcoming this situation through the maturation of the working class, especially its younger members education in the socialist schools, the circumstances for becoming a "class for themselves," a conflict developed between the style of exercising authority, which was now inadequate for the new situation, and the new possibilities and needs.

And this conflict was not only between the new requirements and the ways of exercising political, ideological, and economic authority from conditions irrevocably lost to the past, but also between these requirements and the interests of the large social groups using the paternalistic systems, because as such a style of exercising authority became objectively a relic of the past as the result of the disappearance of the social base in the form of factions of the working class on the level of a "class in itself" and the peasantry maintaining an archaic management method, maintaining it required support in those factions of the society which used the fixed nature of paternalistic limitations on democratism to supply the means for making their own special-interest needs predominate at the cost of general social needs. The building of the conflicts between such a style of exercising authority, the possibilities and necessity of improving the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the requirements of directing the working class and its allies and of developing them in keeping with all their interests led to a dual sort of attempt to maintain the archaic system.

The first was the expansion of an artificial social base for paternalism in the form of a bureaucratic machine and a special sort of "worker aristocracy" of privileged groups of the so-called lower- and intermediate-level supervision.

The second was the apparent modernization of the style of exercising authority through adaptation of methods developed under capitalism for easing social conflicts within a plant and coordinating interdependent actions among plants. The root of these modernization efforts in relation to social conflicts was their shift to the plant and individual level, an unloading with the aid of manipulatory measures and subsidiary participation in the firm's profits through the expansion of recreation facilities, and so on, along with the simultaneous uncritical transfer of methods developed under capitalism to expand labor productivity by using a system for squeezing more effort out of the workers. Hence, in this area too, as in the adaptation of technology, the fascination with solutions useful under the conditions of other political systems blocked out the critical thinking necessary to process that experience and work out original paths of progress adapted to the properties and requirements of socialist management.

The rejection of modernization efforts of this sort is all the more essential at the present time, in that, as many symptoms show, there are within our society rather substantial forces trying to utilize the compromising of paternalism and its related distortions in the form of bureaucratic centralism to force a cure in the form of bureaucratic decentralization, and hence to replace the division into factions related to various sectors and regions, a division which weakens the working class, with a division into the interest groups of various plants, which division would create still greater chances than before for manipulating the workers and playing them off one against the other.



These are by no means original concepts. They are a reflection of the conservative current currently predominating in the developed capitalist countries, a current of criticism of the ineffectiveness of state interference and the forcing of neo-laissez-faire programs assuming that corporations will be treated as absolutely autonomous, obliged both to pacify the working forces by various sorts of participation (in profit-sharing, stock-sharing, and management) and to prove their *raison d'être* by meeting the requirements of absolute market competition. One must take a good look at these concepts to reduce the likelihood of having the ideas come to birth on our soil, especially since, as shown by the experience of Great Britain, where these concepts became the program for conservative governments, there is doubt, to say the very least, as to the effectiveness of these solutions even there.

The real remedy for deviations of nature of the paternalistic version of bureaucratic centralism and also adaptations of capitalist methods and ways of manipulating society in general and the working forces in particular is to be found in a return to the principled fundamentals of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a new level, to fit the possibilities created by maturity which is probably already evident, permitting the working class to play the role of the leading force in the higher phase of the socialist revolution.

The root of the dictatorship of the proletariat, like that of all the class dictatorships ruling under previous systems, is "to thrust on the society the conditions for their class existence" ("Communist Manifesto") with the aid of the instruments of political, economic, and ideological authority.

The difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the previous dictatorships is based on the fact that this class does not aspire to assume a position of privilege at the cost of other classes or strata but to do away with all privilege and class divisions. This foreordains that both the party of the working class and socialist states can represent general national interests better as they are more consistent in adopting long-range and current interests of the working class as a whole as the basis.

And because nobody understands the interests of the working class better than it does itself, starting with the time which it again became a "class for itself" on a mass scale, the improvement of the process of detecting and coordinating the aspirations of this class and therefore also coordinating them with the aspirations of allied forces in the peasantry and the intelligentsia becomes the point of departure for the democratization of the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This makes it necessary to take into account the fact that an irrevocable end has come not only to the time when the working class was unable to articulate its aspirations in a mature way but also to

the time when this was not a need of the first order, owing to the obvious needs which the socialist revolution had to assume at that time. The creation of this special sort of social consensus using paternalistic methods by giving consideration in the programs to the implementation of various demands for improvement in living conditions in keeping with the force of the pressure of the social groups competing for these improvements, on the basis of a special sort of "concert by request," led ultimately to cacaphony in the form of imbalance in development and production in various sectors of the economy vis-a-vis one another and social needs. It is therefore essential to review publicly the various variants of commitment and development of the economic potential and to compromise in that public discussion those tendencies which even though attractive are unrealistic and ultimately useful only for a few people, and we need, on the other hand, to select in a conscious way the most rational program for further development, and in this sense it is essential to inform the society about the state of our economy and its possibilities without secrets and lies, to give up prejudgments, using censorship, concerning which ideas and aspirations are correct and which are wrong, to put specialists not in the role of advisers whispering to paternalistic decision-making groups but in the role of real experts, who present various aspirations and concepts for the use of public discussion, provide information about the existing possibilities and limitations, and balance the effects of the national debate to provide the basis for the elements of political power to judge the programs.

The guarantee that such a process of drawing up a program will not be monopolized by intelligentsia groups with a petty bourgeois, proconvergence attitude can and must be the party's assumption of the role of organizer and synthesizer of the results of the public discussion. In order to do this, the past policy of paralyzing the party by putting its activist group into the role of spokesman for programs decided on ahead of time must be replaced by the rule of reaching unity in a discussion presenting different variants of development to be judged within the framework of the party, so that the variant adopted in keeping with the rules of democratic centralism can be propagated by the majority, with real conviction.

The maturity achieved by the working class and its allies also creates the possibility and necessity of replacing traditionally shaped rules for creating and dissolving the organizers of social life. Let us recall that the old rules in effect come from times when the number of people with procommunist attitudes and with the ability to wield economic, political, or administrative authority was so very small that without exaggeration the defense of having certain people hold key positions was the equivalent of the defense of socialism. At the present time, in the situation where prosocialist attitudes are universal and there is widespread education equipping people to assume managerial positions (as we can see from the fact that a million Poles are post-secondary gradu-

ates), the maintaining of the traditional rules is an archaic practice which we cannot stand in the long run. And in this sphere the forces interested in maintaining archaic principles have reached out for ways to make them permanent, ways which undercut socialist democracy, for rules, for example, which have changed elections essentially into autocooption adjusted more by the decisions of higher decision-making groups than by the act of voting.

After so many crises it has probably already become undisputed that the dilemma between the personal danger of those exercising managerial functions and the danger, functional quality, and development of socialism must be settled in favor of the latter, and the antiquated rules of appointing and removing managerial staff must be eliminated. Without going into too much detail, we must state the necessity of limiting the number of terms for political functions, to provide the possibility that a deserving person with knowledge and experience can assume a position in other areas of social life and there can be alternative candidate choices for all functions from top to bottom in periodic repeated competition for administrative positions.

In this sphere too the guarantee of democratic practice in the selection of managerial personnel in social life is the achievement of progress on this matter within the party, because the party is both the source and the executor of the rules of democratic centralism in the society, and nobody else will discharge essential duty for it

And finally the third main plane for progress in democratization which is possible and essential owing to the higher level of maturity of the working class and its allies is the socialization of control or the monitoring and execution of actions in keeping with the programs for socialist development negotiated in public discussion.

Departures in this sphere, which have been growing during the past decades, under conditions of the domination of special-interests vis-à-vis the society in general, have taken two forms: a) "groupization" by which I mean actions favorable to the working forces of certain plants but contrary to the role which is the reason for their functioning as a component part of the national organism, and b) privatization, the appropriation of certain people, including those appointed to handle and guard public property, of fruits of social work, so that in this way they can achieve a standard of living above legal income and legal ways of gaining assets to goods.

This was fostered by the bureaucratization of the decision-making units of control and by their transformation into bodies of internal self-control (the most explicit proof of which was the subordination of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] to the government). The ineffectiveness of such self-control is demonstrated most eloquently by the fact that nine-tenths of economic offenses are detected not by expanded bodies of internal control but by external investigative bodies, which undoubtedly place

in doubt the usefulness of the existence of the former groups, especially since they have no use at all in the sphere of detecting and combatting tendencies toward "groupization." It is unusual for an industrial association or ministry to question products which may not be in keeping with the interests of consumers or to sound a reproach for neglect of producer obligations or service requirements to obtain unjustified profits. A glaring example of this are the deformities of all the branches of industry, such as the furniture industry which supposedly produces for the rational furniture needs of Poles but actually produces to make profits in the easiest way.

It is not possible to combat this situation without setting up external control bodies to represent the public interest, having this essential role filled by representative institutions such as the Sejm and national councils and linking them to supervision by the society through the shaping of the culture of public analysis and coping with regard to all deviations.

To do this it is necessary to do away with "protective spheres" for any sort of people or groups fostering either distortions or opinions which exaggerate suspicions of depravity, especially for those persons or groups whose lives are secret, or accusing those who are innocent. It would therefore seem wise to require public disclosure of all income and documentation vis-a-vis social control bodies concerning the legality of ways of acquiring goods of great luxury, and also to consistently eliminate from the decision-making bodies all those who have treated their obligation to organize social life as the privilege to enrich oneself easily with impunity in a manner contrary to the accepted rules of distribution, and we should exact a return of the goods and demand that an inquiry be made into the legality of the origin of those goods whose origin cannot be proved, and in this way we should vindicate undisputably the overwhelming majority of the economic, administrative, and political personnel who have lived through this difficult period in an honorable, honest way.

And in this area as in every other the party's ideological and organizational leadership in this work is essential. In this way it will prove, as in all the other ways, that it is capable of defending the good name of the absolute majority of honest communists which make up the party, and of cleansing itself consistently of the few whose shifty acts on their own behalf can serve as the basis for the wider society to make the unjustified generalizations of the assessment "pars pro toto." This also means combatting the special-interest tendencies toward "groupization," actions contrary to the general social interest on behalf of benefits for the plant or sector, actions which ultimately ricochet in all; overcoming them by shaping, under the conditions of democracy, a unity of the party's aspirations and so too its actions and thereby identical principles within the framework of the working class and in alliance with the people's forces which make up the Polish socialist nation.



It is only by meeting the requirements for the democratization of the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat that we can eliminate both having them paralyzed by the functioning of archaic methods and deviations and the false tendencies to borrow from capitalism solutions of the bureaucratic-managerial decentralization type.

In summing up the discussion of this sphere and therefore the analysis of the causes of key deformities in areas of social life and proposed directions for improvement, we must say that the way to restore the functional operation of the socialist political system in keeping with the requirements of the next phase of revolutionary changes passes through 1) democratization of the process of coordinating aspirations in the party, working class, and alliance of people's forces, which means coordinating the way of drafting programs for further development, 2) democratization of the process of appointing and removing organizers of social life in the party, the state, the trade unions, and the youth, self-government, and cooperative organizations, and 3) democratization of the process of control and of seeing that actions are consistent with the socialist rules and programs negotiated in public discussion.

Only such a path which takes into account the maturity of the working class and its allies and their ability to take a greater share in the decision-making not only concerning the realization of our social life but also determination of its direction will make it possible to expand the potential of the prosocialist forces through a deepening of the democratic nature of unity, and therefore to get around the danger of bureaucratic centralism which paralyzes the ability of the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat to understand, express, and realize the interests of the working class and its allies and to get around the no less threatening danger of bureaucratic decentralization and the pluralism of opposing political forces which inevitably will run the risk of destroying the unity of the working class, changing it into groups with special fragmented interests, groups entangled in alliances and networks with forces with antisocialist orientations and doubtful affiliations.

The task of the truly progressive forces which represent the current in its pure as it predominates in discussions within the party and the society in connection with the Eighth Party Congress and in the changes forced by the strikes is the consistent struggle to purify the aspirations for further development of socialism and to accomplish the third phase of the socialist revolution, which is difficult but which promises greater satisfaction, a phase in which we should prove the superiority of socialism by creating and inculcating a better way than capitalism has for using the industrial production forces to liberate each person from want, providing the opportunity for prosperity for all those doing honest work but only them, and upgrading the political institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that their democratic nature is expressed not only in the fact that they operate in the interest of the people but also in the fact that they create for the people directly the optimum opportunities for coordinating their aspirations and seeing that they are realized.

## MEDICAL TRAINING IN ARMED FORCES SURVEYED

Warsaw LEKARZ WOJSKOWY in Polish No 3-4, Mar-Apr 80 pp 93-97

[Article by Lt Col Andrzej Gryczko, physician in the Medical Service Command of the Chief Quartermaster, Polish Army: "Army Medical Training"]

[Text] Basic medical training, which is an integral component part of army combat training, is of fundamental significance to the effective medical safeguarding of the subunits and units in combat operations on the modern battlefield. We must not underestimate the significance of proper organization and the level of the rendering of first aid within the framework of self-help and mutual assistance under the conditions of massive medical losses, particularly within the tactical zone, where the promptness and skill in rendering assistance will have a decisive influence on the future fate of the affected people, the effectiveness of their treatment in the medical evacuation stages, and their return to the ranks. On the one hand, the meager means and forces of the health service at the subunit level and the limited capabilities for them to make full use of them in battle dynamics, and, on the other hand, the continual improvement in the existing means of destruction and the development of new weapons force us to treat medical training extremely seriously and with total responsibility, not only in the health service but also, to an equal extent, in the command element. We realize that the development of military techniques and the resulting need to use increasingly more complicated equipment, as well as the rise in the requirements in the sphere of the soldier's general combat training, create a systematic intensification of training of the armies in general and within the realm of tactical, special-tactics, gunnery, sapper-engineering, chemical, and combined-arms training above all have a fundamental effect on the structure of programs and the distribution of hours over the various sections and subjects of training and do not make it possible to increase the number of hours of military training, despite the existing needs. On the other hand the above-mentioned development of military technology and the improvement in the means of destruction place special tasks right before the health service in the area of medical protection and the related medical training of the armies.

A basic program goal of the medical training curriculum is to see that all soldiers acquire practical skills in performing first aid within the framework of self-help and mutual assistance, using the soldier's individual medical equipment, the first aid kits of combat vehicles and means at hand, and instruction in the pursuit, recovery, and bearing of the stricken from the battlefield, from combat vehicles, and so on, and in protecting them from further injury. The training takes into consideration the rendering of first aid during combat operations during which conventional weapons are used and during which weapons of mass destruction are used.

The selection of the subject matter for the planned classes and exercises in medical training fully correspond to the projected training goals. The proper implementation of the program satisfactorily insures that soldiers will be prepared to give first aid. All the material handled is included in the following subject categories (an example of the number of hours allocated for each section is given in parentheses):

1. Personal medical equipment of the soldier and of the first aid kits in combat vehicles, and how to use them (2 hours);
2. Giving first aid for wounds, stopping hemorrhages (2 hours);
3. Giving first aid for fractures, dislocations, and sprains (2 hours);
4. First aid for burns and frostbite (1 hour);
5. Recovery and removal of injured from the battlefield and from combat vehicles, and their protection from further injury (2 hours);
6. Effect of elements of weapons of mass destruction on the human organism. Giving first aid to those affected by nuclear weapons (2 hours);
7. Giving first aid to those affected by toxic agents (2 hours);
8. Performance of medical procedures (1 hour);
9. First aid in other sudden instances. The principles of resuscitation (2 hours).

Owing to the limited number of medical training hours, the other subjects, for example, in the realm of care and prevention of contagious diseases, are usually handled within the framework of the work of departmental health education commissions, the way the subjects of alcoholism, drug abuse, venereal disease, and the like are handled.

The subjects listed in points 1-9 take 16 hours of program training altogether. In certain units, and usually in the training subunits, the number of hours allocated for medical training is still fewer.

We realize what this means in terms of the scope of theoretical information which the soldiers must assimilate and especially in terms of the broad range of practical skills the master of which sometimes requires that the individual soldiers repeat certain exercises many times. For example, the difficulties encountered during the conduct of the training program can be proved by the fact that only 2 hours are devoted to the subject of the recovery and removal of the injured from the battlefield and combat vehicles (and this is true of most of the programs), and 1 hour of this is usually devoted to teaching the recovery and removal of the injured from the battlefield, while the other is devoted to removing the injured from combat vehicles, such as tanks and armored personnel carriers. These are subjects which basically do not require theoretical discussion except for a presentation of a few minutes as introduction, leaving almost the entire 2 hours to be devoted to the practical exercises. Assuming that there are about 30 soldiers (a platoon, for example) in the training group and that we have one tank and one armored personnel carrier available, we can see from a simple computation that one person (even an experienced physician) cannot conduct these exercises properly. The trainees must be divided and the exercises conducted simultaneously in three smaller groups of ten persons each, which means that two more instructors are needed (but this is not always possible). It is only at the given "work point" that each of the ten soldiers within about 30 minutes has a chance to perform the assigned task properly (under supervision) at least once.

The extent varies, but similar difficulties and problems occur in the handling of the other subjects, especially, for example, when the platoon leader, even if he has been provided with a perfectly drafted summary, has only a superficial meritorical knowledge of the subject and poor methodical preparation for conducting this sort of exercise. This is why well-conceived and precise organization along with very carefully, perfectly selected training methods to insure that maximum effects may be achieved in a limited time take on particular importance in medical training.

In summing up, we should state that the achievement of the projected training goals within the framework of the curriculum hours under the existing system of training is not easy and depends above all upon the following factors:

- the physician's personal commitment to organizing the training process and carrying it out;
- the selection of the proper training methods;
- the preparation of younger leadership personnel to carry out the medical training exercises;
- the condition and level of utilization of the training base.



The fundamental training methods and those most frequently employed are the following: lecture, lecture with demonstration, and practice. During the lectures it is most common to use charts and tables mainly, films and slides less frequently. During the practical exercises personal bandages, IPP [chemical decontamination kits], IPR [radioactive decontamination kits] (for practice), pantocides, bandage materials, splints for immobilizing fractures, pressure compresses, and so on are used, along with infantry combat vehicles and tanks. Basically, the level of supply of equipment and materials necessary to provide for the training process is not considered adequate at the unit level. Nonetheless, in a number of units there is also a shortage or absence of any fully suitable medical training instruction rooms which can hold at least a platoon. There is also a general shortage of dummies for training in resuscitation. Some units do not have enough training IPR-2 kits, IPP kits, pantocides, and personal bandages allocated for training purposes.

Unit physicians are required to give instruction to subunit commanders who are to conduct the medical training exercises. The instruction is usually not given more than 1-2 days before the exercises. During this instruction, alongside going over the summary, one should discuss in detail the organization and method for conducting the exercises and provide for the training material, and also as need be give the necessary explanations and instructions of a meritorical nature. In the training subunits the exercises are usually conducted personally by the physicians. Sometimes medical petty officers conduct them.

On the other hand, the practical skills acquired in the rendering of first aid should be upgraded during the course of the tactical and special-tactics exercises in the field, firing, and so on, to the extent possible using injury simulation. This is clearly discussed in the annual "Organizational-training guidelines of the Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army for the armed forces" and the "Detailed instructions for the work of the Medical Service Command of the Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army." On the other hand it should be stated that both combined-army commanders and certain physicians fail to appreciate this form of training, because it requires time and commitment on the part of the physician, and the platoon or company commander "complicates" normal exercises. This is the reason for the sporadic use of this way of upgrading skills.

Nevertheless the level of the armies' medical training is considered satisfactory, but for several years no real progress has been observed in this area. Here there is rather a substantial difference in the training level from one subunit or unit to another and also in the level of mastery between one subject to another. For example, familiarity with the principles of bandaging wounds stopping hemorrhages and immobilizing fractures and the familiarity with the soldier's personal medical equipment are on a rather good level. Usually the subjects

less well known include the giving of first aid to those affected by nuclear weapons and toxic agents and knowledge of the principles of resuscitation.

In the light of the above, it would seem useful and even essential to treat the 16-hour program in basic medical training as a "minimum program" required of all soldiers regardless of type of army or nature of the unit. The fundamental core subject-matter should be supplemented with additional training according to the specific nature of the army, spanning about 2-4 hours, as needed. In addition, during the training process particular attention should be given to the consistent and systematic improvement of practical skills during tactical, special-tactics, firing, and similar exercises. This is an essential condition to the acquisition of the desired training effects. This is tied in directly with the problem of proper instruction and methodical preparation of the younger command personnel for the conduct of medical training exercises. A separate issue is the matter of insuring that the exercises are adequately attended, particularly in the rear support subunits. According to need (and also in keeping with cost effectiveness), there should be consistent efforts also to expand and modernize the training base for medical training and to make on-going improvements to compensate for shortages in the realm of material provisions for the training process.

We need to discuss separately the question of applying the "training standards" drawn up several years ago for medical training. These standards do not work completely in assessing the extent of the soldier's medical training. The performance of first-aid tasks "within the allotted time" introduces the element of sport competition and as a result has a negative effect on the quality of the first aid rendered. It would seem that the time in which, for example, an arm or leg should be immobilized will still depend in most cases not so much on the technical skills of the person giving the first aid as on the type of fracture and the general condition of the injured. There is a rather prevalent opinion regarding the need to monitor the above-mentioned norms, because one cannot compare, for example, the handling of a piece of ordnance with the handling of the injured. The logical view would seem to be that these standards should apply above all, but not exclusively, to the handling of medical equipment and the use of medical techniques, and to the development of medical posts and equipment.

Owing to their significance to the medical security of the armies, the above-mentioned problems would seem to merit particular attention. It would seem useful to have comments on these subjects from other physicians engaged in the practical execution of the medical training process, physicians who surely have a great deal of personal experience and observations, and conclusions to offer which may help improve the effectiveness of training.

10790  
CSO: 2600

## POLEMIC ERUPTS OVER STIPE SUVAR ARTICLE IN 'DELO'

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 80 p 11

[Article by Dejan Curkovic: "Who Is Who and What Is What in the Current Polemics Between Suvar, Matvejevic and Rupel"]

[Text] When an extensive interview with Stipe Suvar appeared in DELO of Ljubljana on 25 October and thereafter was reprinted by other papers, it was obvious that it would be received in differing ways: it consisted of a very polemical and at times accusatory series of statements and judgments of contemporary social phenomena and groups of people and individuals mentioned by name, along with more or less frank allusions to certain social forces, groups and individuals to whom it was left to recognize themselves. Of this latter group Predrag Matvejevic and Dimitrij Rupel have so far made themselves known, Suvar has responded to them, and the contours of a possible disputation which could have broader social importance are already becoming outlined.

## Interlopers

Aside from those we have mentioned, Suvar's interview also evoked two other reactions: from Gajo Petrovic and Carl Gustav Stroehm. They might be characterized in the dispute as interlopers, that is--those persons who become involved in someone else's law suit, since they have an interest in its being decided in favor of one of the principals. By contrast with the interloper Petrovic, whose article, at least so it appears, has the sole purpose of besmirching Suvar as an individual without entering into any of the fundamental issues which he raises in his interview, interloper Carl Gustav Stroehm attempts in DIE WELT on 7 November to emphasize the "key" statements and on the basis of them to draw a fundamental conclusion on signs "that a new disputation could arise in Yugoslavia between the intellectuals and the party." By contrast with Petrovic, who defines Suvar's interview, at least so it appears, as the product of the exclusively personal traits of its author's character and intellect, which the interloper judges to be most base and ugly ("the way dear little Stipe imagines his role in our revolution")--Stroehm identifies Suvar with the LCY and relates the very appearance of the interview in DELO to the petition, of which our

public knows little, "which was signed by more than 100 Yugoslav intellectuals and which demanded revocation of that article of the Criminal Code concerning what is referred to as hostile propaganda," and the intentions of the Serbian writer Dobrica Cosic, also little known, to start a newspaper entitled JAVNOST [THE PUBLIC].

#### Personally and as a Matter of Principle

Even one who is little informed about this petition and the intentions of the writer Cosic can still detect that the two interlopers are more concerned with what stands between the lines of Suvar's interview than with what is written there.

Suvar's interview, however, is unambiguous to a considerable degree and consists of a great number of statements supported by varying amounts of argumentation. If we ignore the attacks on Suvar as a person, Matvejevic takes exception to the following in his response:

a) the statement that our elite intelligentsia can be divided in Manichaeen fashion into just two tendencies--traditional petit bourgeois nationalism and the sloganeering of humanistic New Leftism; (Matvejevic does not mention that Suvar expressly states that he is confronting "certain forces in our elite intelligentsia");

b) the "amazingly" simplistic judgment of the "conflict on the literary Left";

c) the right of the "minister of culture" to express esthetic judgment and to decide "who is and who is not a writer" and to describe someone's contacts with certain editorial offices as "connections big and small throughout Yugoslavia in editorial offices, even by telephone";

d) the assessment of all criticism of the way in which the school reform is being implemented as an antiparty, opposition, petit bourgeois-nationalistic or New Left view;

e) the constant challenging of individuals and institutions in the field of culture instead of working with them for the general good.

Rupel assessed Suvar's statements in general as "cavilling, vengeful and private," but from his response there are few counterpositions to be drawn that do not distort or falsify Suvar's own. When Suvar says that the free exchange of labor is not possible if the income of the OOUR (basic organization of associated labor) is everywhere distributed in advance and moreover "nearly 80 percent externally," Rupel speaks of Suvar's split personality in being a "truly divided individual: he who is unable to attain free exchange of labor is the same who distributes 80 percent of income externally." When Suvar points up the well-known Yugoslav paradox of personal incomes acquired outside regular employment in excess of total



personal income earned through regular employment, Rupel finds it suitable to regard this as a charge which should be dismissed by reminding the plaintiff that he himself earned some income outside his regular employment. Rupel's entire article abounds in primitive substitutions of arguments of this kind, so that one can barely find three authentic confrontations;

f) over the reform of the educational system;

g) over the "conflict on the literary Left";

h) over how the phenomenon of our dissent is to be described.

#### Rebuttal of the Rebuttal

One can conclude from this list of Matvejevic's and Rupel's counterpositions that the polemic began with little interest in the numerous fundamental issues which Suvar raised and exhausted itself in the efforts of individuals deprecated in the interview to deprecate the one who insulted them. It would seem at first glance that the others, the interlopers, those whose names were not called, showed more feeling for the general importance of the suit which Suvar conducted in DELO.

In answering Matvejevic and Rupel Suvar himself devoted a great deal of space to settling personal matters. He argues at length and marshals the evidence that he is an honest man, that he does not play any sort of "games with individual politicians and republic groups," he interprets some "incident in 1975" (unidentified) as a private joke, he presents examples of his lack of vengefulness as an author, he repudiates the assertion that he has ever applied for a teacher's job at a university, and so on, without noticing that he is playing his opponents' game. At this point even the inquisitive eye of C. G. Stroehm might recognize the utterly personal nature of Suvar's interview in DELO and the groundlessness of his judgment "that a new polemic could come about in Yugoslavia between the intellectuals and the party."

Drawing himself up in unnecessary indignation because of the public mudslinging against him as an individual, unnecessarily begging Savic, member of the academy, to forgive him for mention of his name, and unnecessarily explaining to Rupel that like other writers of books, he, too, is entitled to financial compensation for this work, Suvar even counts up the total number of our republic "ministers," using this as an argument as to how little his personal power really is. He himself seems to have forgotten what he said in DELO. He said that he did not have any real political power that one ought to fear. When Rupel asks: "Who will believe a minister who says of himself that he does not have real political power; who will believe a self-manager who asserts that it does not pay to wage a fight as a professor at the university?"--Suvar takes these imputations at face value and, abandoning the line of the ideas which he set forth in

DELO, he gets lost in details, going so far as to explain from whom he borrowed the expression "semi-intellectual," or clarifying the differences between the words cobance and pastir ["shepherd"] in the Croato-Serbian language which are unknown in Slovenian, ... and so on and so on.

A dispassionate reader surprised by Matvejevic's and Rupel's low blows will be equally surprised by a certain ebbing of Suvar's polemical attitude and his adoption of the role of "defendant" who must justify and defend himself. In his response Suvar held to few of his fundamental positions and overlooks the obvious mistakes of his adversaries (Matvejevic says of the school reform: "The balance sheet is almost catastrophic." Rupel describes it as "experimentation with live people."), and instead of returning the blows, at least on "his own" ground, he behaves the whole while as though he were "paying a visit" and on his best behavior. One can imagine another biased interloper who might even be tempted to defend Suvar from Suvar.

#### What Is Involved Here

Yet there is no reason for amazement. The position of Matvejevic and Rupel is clear: they have been attacked and insulted. Suvar referred to them both publicly as dissidents, as petit bourgeois intellectuals who "dress according to the latest style" (Rupe') or petit bourgeois semi-intellectuals whose spiritual world is restricted to occasional trips "between Zagreb and Paris and between Belgrade and Dubrovnik" (Matvejevic). Both resorted to the polemical technique of answering "insults for insults," disputing less what Suvar said than his right to say it. In this approach to the dispute they have indirectly offered Suvar new arguments, but he obviously has not taken advantage of them. Does this mean that Suvar is a poor polemicist? Or is something else involved?

Only one thing is certain: neither can what he said be simply labeled as the product of base and improper motives, nor can it be evaluated as a hint or expression of the "official" position of the party or government. This is obviously a personal statement, personal in both the good and the bad sense of that word. It would be worthwhile to shed light on both purposes of Suvar's statements, just as it would be worthwhile to examine in more detail the full content of the responses of his opponents. A more detailed analysis of everything that has been said could take the polemic which has begun, in spite of its obvious weaknesses, to the point where it is no longer personalities but issues that matter.

7045

CSO: 2900

## DRAWBACKS OF PLANNING EFFORT HIGHLIGHTED

Through Legislative Mill

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1554 12 Oct 80 pp 16-17

[Article by Scepán Rabrenovic]

[Text] Until now we have prepared nice plans that were composed of lists of desired objectives, but all of those plans had one and the same shortcoming--they were unattainable.

Sukrija Uzunovic, a member of the Federal Executive Council, stated: "In this complicated and unfavorable economic situation, in which we now find ourselves, failure to prepare plans or the lack of plans has meant that we have been unable to open the prospects that would permit a gradual extrication from the existing situation and difficulties, and the workers are waiting impatiently for that rescue."

Dr Berislav Sefer, a member of the Croatian delegation in the Council of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, said: "There truly are justified needs, as pointed out by the federal Presidium, that require that a plan be approved by year's end, but clearly that cannot be the basis for approving any sort of plan no matter what the price."

Marko Bule, a member of the Slovenian delegation in the Council of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, put it this way: "We have no choice but to demand that the work on reaching an agreement be intensified, and at least the appropriate interrepublic committees should be in session day and night so that the main deadline for approving a plan can be upheld if possible."

These 3 evaluations were expressed on the same day, at nearly the same time, during a session of the Council of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly that took place last week. The session was devoted to discussion of the Social Plan for the Country's Development in the period 1981-1985.

From these three evaluations it can be concluded, without knowing anything else, that little time remains for the preparation and approval of this document. The time has actually nearly run out, for the delegates should have had the basic document in their hands 4 months ago.

## A Delayed Plan

This time the delegates have not blamed the Federal Executive Council for the delay. They had reasons for that: so far only one republic has prepared its basic document concerning its development in the coming period. How can a plan for the country be made, when the planning of each republic and province is not known and when additionally, the plans of associated labor are also unknown?

Some delegates doubted that such a major task can be completed in the coming three months, and still be valid. That is particularly so because it is clear that viewpoints on such important matters as the development of insufficiently developed republics and the province of Kosovo have not yet been coordinated; without such agreement the plan cannot be an entity. Neither the priorities nor the number of priorities have been determined yet, and each one requires a separate agreement. Many other things are likewise still unknown, such as the amount of income to be set aside for general and mutual public needs and the development of insufficiently developed areas, the manner of utilization of funds that have been newly created, the matter of whether the federal budget will show a deficit again, the nature of credit and monetary policy, the conditions and possibilities for incurring foreign debt, and the primary distribution policy.

All of these things were mentioned at the session, in a rushed manner, of course, because there is no time remaining to work meticulously. True, it was stated that agreements have not yet been achieved on the rate of production growth, price increases (or inflation rates), or social product, but at this session all of these factors were overshadowed by the short time available.

Most of the delegates, nevertheless, believed that the deadline for approving the Social Plan for Development should be met, even if the plan were not complete. It was suggested that minima be adopted, and that the signers accept the obligation to determine maximum values later.

Such an action would be nothing new. The plan that runs out this year was approved late, with some social agreements on the development of priority activities being agreed upon with delays ranging from one and a half to three years. (Perhaps this fact explains why the development of priority activities has only been 50 percent realized and why Yugoslavia continues to be so dependent on imported raw materials and semi-processed materials.)

There was also a delay in approving the resolution on development for this year, which came only in mid-year, just before the annual vacation period, concerning some questions.

The debate was completed by the presentation of the vice president of the Federal Executive Council, Zvone Dragan: "At the session of the LCY Central Committee, direct criticism was expressed about the existing plan documents for the period 1976-1980. It was said that the plan was one of the causes of inflation, and that we had a long list of desires that we agreed upon, but that list pushed us into an even greater degree of instability and inflation.



The magnitude of that list now is unknown, but one thing is known: every one will put his own desires in front, naturally, at the level of republics and provinces. The debate at the session of the Council of Republics and Provinces was characterized to a degree by the notion that it would not be bad to do this, as long as the time for recognizing mutual interests is not lost from sight.

#### Not only Basic Assumptions

Only a few days earlier, at another meeting, the new Social Plan of Development was also discussed, when in the Yugoslav Economic Chamber business representatives spoke with members of the Federal Executive Council, led by its president Veselin Djuranovic.

Here the conversation was entirely different, for not once were factors such as the rate of growth or individual interests brought up. On the other hand, the urgency of approving the Social Plan of Development was not avoided as a discussion topic, but rather it was discussed from another angle. All were in agreement that the approval of the Social Plan for the next 5 years must come as soon as possible, but there was less talk about lists of desired objectives, and more about the conditions under which the plan objectives would be accomplished.

Concerning those conditions, not even hypotheses are known, and that was the major topic of discussion for the businessmen. The director of the Rade Koncar plant in Zagreb, Ante Markovic, said: "The greatest problem is that we do not know what to expect by year's end and the first months of next year." He continued, "Unfortunately, the effects of devaluation have quickly been used up. When that decision was made, our estimates were that it would happen by the end of the year, but it actually happened sooner than expected."

Under conditions where there are constant changes and no one knows what the operating circumstances will be in 3, 4, or 5 years, or even in a few months, can long-term developmental plan be made at all?

Milenko Bojanic, director of the Crvena Zastava factory in Kragujevac, attempted to answer that question: "Decisions for 1981 are not needed in January of that year, but immediately. The process of self-management planning advances from the basic organization to a complex organization of associated labor, and at least 6 months are needed for the process. We all know how many phases are involved in planning. If we want to make realistic plans, we must know the basis assumptions much sooner."

There are many such basic assumptions. One of them, for example, would indicate the degree to which the state will continue to intervene in the constitutional rights of associated labor. It is not by chance that at the same meeting, Milojko Veljovic, president of the Serbian Economic Chamber, said: "We must transfer the system of authorization to associated labor as soon as possible and provide for its expanded influence on pricing policy. In many areas, prices would be lower if they were determined by the economy." He continued, "Prices are set without consultation with the economy. As a result, there is a tremendous transfer of resources from one sector to another, thus putting people into various situations that are independent of the product of their labor."

## Measures Without Speculators

At this meeting, Veselin Djuranovic told the businessmen among other things: "The Social Plan will be the document and the battle program for economic stabilization that will contain all the basic determinations, as well as a clear agreement on the responsibilities of republics and provinces and all other participants in the process of approving the plan. It will also contain operating conditions and elements of common economic policy."

At this time Velesin Djuranovic also promised the business representatives that new measures would insist upon "the preparation of economic motivation, and the establishment of market principles and market factors."

Does this represent a great deal or very little? It is insufficient when we consider how many unknowns are still present, among the lasting conditions of economic functioning, but it is quite a bit compared to what has been offered by previous developmental plans that were lists of nice wishes that were calculated by speculators.

This reporter can still recall the statement of one businessman at the end of 1975, when the present plan was approved: "The plan is excellent, but it has one small fault: it will not be able to function. It is all too nice for actual practice to accept it."

## Realities of Statistics

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1554, 12 Oct 80 pp 16-17

[Text] The present five-year plan will expire in 2 and one half months. Final data have not been collected and calculated to see how much of the planned objectives were met, but the results are all well known.

Have we lived and worked according to the plan in the past 5 years? No. Not only has much in the plan not been achieved, but the areas of overfulfillment cannot even be regarded as plusses, particularly when among them are to be found the figures for investments and for prices.

The plan called for the social product to grow by 6.9 percent annually, while the results showed a growth rate of 5.6 percent. Industrial production also grew more slowly than planned: instead of an average annual growth rate of 8 percent, it grew at a 6.9 percentage rate. When compared to the plan, however, the greatest underfulfillment is found in agriculture, where instead of an additional 4 percent more food annually, we produced only 1.9 percent more.

The development of so-called especially significant activities was also slower than planned. Energy was to grow at an annual rate of 9 percent, but achieved only a 6.9 percent rate of growth; ferrous metallurgy was to attain a growth rate of 11 percent annually, but only achieved a 4.6 percent growth rate, while non-ferrous metallurgy had an even worse shortfall. Coal production was to increase by 9.5 percent annually, but we only dug 4.9 percent more coal each year.

Spasoje Medenica, director of the Federal Institute for Economic and Social Planning, commented on these data as follows:

"It is said that we did not have enough money and that therefore, we did not achieve the planned levels of development in activities of special significance. When all activities are regarded separately, that is really true. When, however, we look at the country as a whole, we see that we did have enough money, for in the first 4 years the real growth of basic capital investments in the economy averaged 9.3 percent annually, a figure that considerably exceeded the plan. Furthermore, that took place in a situation where we had a lower rate of growth in the social product than planned."

The question then arises as to where that money went.

"There were no obligations requiring the investor to provide for raw materials, semi-finished materials or energy when building processing installations, no matter whether he was involved in direct investments, association of resources or acquiring foreign exchange for imports. Everyone developed his own economic endeavor independently and asked that someone else provide the raw materials, semifinished materials and energy for his economic endeavor. Most often, such needs were supplied through imports, independently of export capabilities. Here is the explanation for the high deficit in the balance of payments and for part of the foreign debts that were incurred."

Spasoje Medenica continued to tell how part of the resources were channeled into non-economic investments: "If we include housing construction, non-economic investments grew at an average annual rate of 8.5 percent, instead of at the 6.6 percent (planned), and that took place in a situation where the social product was growing at a rate slower than planned."

For the past 5 years, prices have increased an average of 18 percent annually.

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